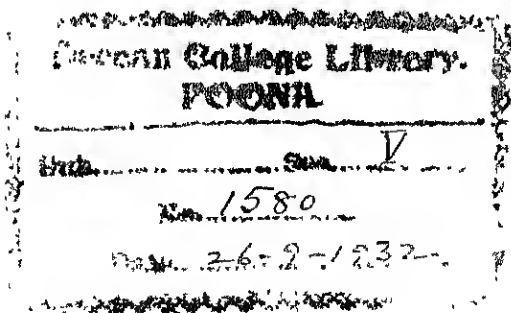


MORGANN'S  
ESSAY ON THE  
DRAMATIC CHARACTER  
OF  
SIR JOHN FALSTAFF

EDITED BY  
WILLIAM ARTHUR GILL



LONDON  
HENRY FROWDE

1912

O:2.364:0



E2

27730<sup>4</sup>

OXFORD: HORACE HART  
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

## INTRODUCTION

MAURICE MORGANN was a man of some influence in politics and literature, though of too retiring a disposition to catch the eye of the general public. As an author he was always anonymous, and sometimes his reserve went further, as for instance when he refused a pressing demand for a second edition of the Falstaff essay, or when he strictly enjoined his executrix to destroy compositions of his which, according to an intelligent critic, 'would have planted a permanent laurel on his grave.' In politics again he seems to have preferred exercising his great abilities in other men's names to coming forward as his own spokesman. Such a nature is not likely to make much impression on contemporary records, and several important questions about Morgann's life are still unanswered.

Morgann was born in London in 1726 and died there in 1802. He is said to have come of 'an antient and respectable family in Wales', but beyond this we know nothing of his parent-

age; and the events of his youth and of the earlier part of his manhood are left to conjecture. At the age of thirty-five he emerges in the official lists of the 'Court and City Kalendar' as 'Weigher and Teller' at the Mint with a yearly salary 'for himself and clerk' of £142 10s.,—a position which he retained to the end of his life. A colleague of his at the Mint for many years was George Selwyn, as 'Surveyor of the Meltings and Clerk of the Irons', with a salary 'for himself and clerk' of £132 10s., and Selwyn's successor was the Hon. Spencer Perceval. The appointment to this sinecure proves that Morgann had influence of some sort, but throws little light on his occupations. In 1766, when he was forty, he became an Under-Secretary of State. He had somehow gained—how he had gained it is one of the unanswered questions—an uncommonly thorough knowledge of American affairs, and he was appointed 'Secretary of the American Department' under Lord Shelburne, then for the first time, at the age of twenty-nine, Secretary of State. In this office, and in troubled times, Morgann showed himself clear-sighted and liberal as well as accurately informed, and we know from memoranda of his addressed to his young chief and from the latter's course meanwhile that his views re-

ceived as much notice in the Government councils as Lord Shelburne was able to obtain for them. A friend of Morgann's has asserted that if 'his solicitous and enlightened representations had experienced attention, the temporary and the abiding evils of the American contest would not have existed'. There is no doubt at least that his representations were enlightened.

After this he was sent by Lord Shelburne, we are told, 'across the Atlantic as the intended legislator of Canada.' This must have been in 1767 or 1768, for he gave up the Under-secretaryship in the former year, and Lord Shelburne's official connexion with the colonies ceased in the latter, and was not renewed until 1782, at which time Morgann was otherwise engaged. It is probable that he retired from his Government office in 1767 in order to undertake the Canadian mission, the nature and course of which can only be inferred. General Carleton, who was then acting as Governor-General, is known to have opposed a scheme put forward by Lord Shelburne about 1766 for providing Canada with a Council and Assembly. While this and other points of local administration remained unsettled,—it was even disputed under which laws the Canadians were living, French or British,—there was matter enough for an envoy of the Home Government

to examine on the spot. If it is implied in the words, 'the intended legislator of Canada,' that Morgann's powers went beyond examining and reporting, the exercise of them was doubtless conditional, and there is no reason to think that he actually did more than collect information and confer with Carleton. In 1769 Carleton crossed to London to answer questions and advocate his own ideas, and it is probable that Morgann—Lord Shelburne having already withdrawn from office—returned at least as soon. He and Carleton had become good friends, and during the next four years they must often have met in London, and considering Morgann's liberal views and his recent local studies we may assume with some reason that he was no stranger to the framing of the Quebec Act of 1774,—in which Carleton certainly had a large part,—and that he thus helped to obtain for French Canada the corner-stone of her political and religious liberty.

The next time we find Morgann with a special employment is in 1782, or a dozen years after his Canadian mission, and this long blank interval may serve to raise the question whether he had any regular profession or not. He has been described as a 'clerk in the Foreign Office', and it would agree well enough with most of his re-

corded doings to assume that he was normally a Government official. There are difficulties in the way, however. Apart from the fact that the Foreign Office did not come into existence till Morgann was nearly sixty, it does not appear from the extant lists of officials that Morgann belonged to any Government office during most of his life, if we except his more or less nominal connexion with the Mint. He may have given private help to Lord Shelburne and perhaps to other statesmen oftener than we know, but such occupation can only have been intermittent, and on the whole the conjecture that his ordinary position was that of a gentleman of leisure, with some small inherited income, who occasionally served the State, — though never as a member of Parliament, — seems permissible.

Anyway, we do not hear of him doing anything but literary work of an unlucrative kind between 1770 and 1782. In the latter year he crossed the Atlantic again, going to New York as official Secretary to Carleton, who had just been appointed Commander-in-chief. They sailed from England in March, and by the end of April Morgann was busy at head-quarters in Manhattan, where his sagacity and knowledge found an opening suited to them. Fighting

was less needed than statesmanship at this start of the Revolutionary War; indeed, Carle went out with the double title, 'Commander-in-chief and Commissioner for restoring peace.' A treaty was being spoken of; the prospect required the British in America to show as much conciliation as prudence and dignity permitted; moreover, the Government at home, in order to shape its proposals to the best advantage, needed an accurate running comment upon the changes in American feeling and other conditions as they occurred. The usefulness of Morgann in these circumstances proved to be such that, about the middle of his stay in New York, he was specially rewarded, at the King's request, with a life-pension of £250 a year and a considerable grant of ready money. He returned home in July, 1783, after an absence of fifteen months, to give Lord North, then Prime Minister, a verbal report and the benefit of his experience in the last stage of the negotiations. When the treaty of peace was signed, he was appointed Secretary of the Embassy, charged with the ratification of it,—in acknowledgment, no doubt, of his share in the result,—and in 1784 he received a second official sinecure, worth £200 a year, as one of the four Commissioners of the Hackney Coach Office. At this point his act

---



career, so far as we know, came to an end, though he lived on for another eighteen years. He settled at Knightsbridge, where he owned a house, and it was there that he died.

Of Morgann's personality two good sketches have been preserved in out-of-the-way places -- the one in a footnote to a 'Life of Milton' published two years after his death, the other in the preface to an obscure poem on 'The Pleasures of Conversation', which appeared in 1807. 'The Life of Milton' was by a literary clergyman, Dr. Charles Symmons, son of John Symmons, a Welsh squire, who represented Cardiganshire in Parliament from 1746 to 1761. Morgann was intimate with three generations of the Symmons family. As a young man he frequented the town house of John Symmons, and Charles (some thirty years his junior) speaks of him as one 'who has fondled my infancy in his arms, who was the friend of my youth, who expanded the liberality of my opening heart and first taught me to think and to judge'. Morgann, who seems to have been a lifelong bachelor, became as devoted to Charles's children as he had been to their father, and to one of them, John, we indirectly owe some information about his doings in America, for this young man handed

over to the safe keeping of the Royal Institution a collection of official papers which Morgann had brought back from New York and given to him. John was a barrister, and another barrister—a friend of his—called William Cooke, seems to have lived with Morgann in his latter years, possibly as his secretary. Cooke was the author of the poem on the ‘Pleasures of Conversation’.

Morgann appears in these sketches as an urbane old gentleman, used to fashionable society and to intercourse with ‘the great’, ‘highly placed’, but simple and disinterested,—(‘small as his disinterestedness had suffered his fortune to remain’),—one who ‘from a long intercourse with the world acquired no suspicion or hardness, but with the simplicity and candour retained to the last the cheerfulness and sensibility of childhood’. His rectitude, his benevolence, his hatred of cruelty and oppression are insisted upon, but he stands out most clearly perhaps as a spirited *causeur*, ‘the charm of every society he mixed with,’ displaying ‘the happiest arts of badinage and pleasantry’, who ‘even when he was in error continued to be specious and to please, and never failed of your applause, though he might sometimes of your assent’. His ‘creative fancy’, it seems, ‘branched upon such an infinite variety of views as made it sometime

difficult for him to settle upon the close point, but when he gained that point (which he generally did) with what eloquence and perspicuity did he support it ! With what energies did the heart speak ! Nay, even when he missed it, he led us through such a delightful labyrinth of fragrance and flowers as induced us to forget the disappointment.'

'His leisure hours', Cooke tells us, 'were frequently employed upon some curious or interesting literary subject,' and Charles Symmons, mentioning the destruction of papers after his death, deplores particularly the loss of 'some in the walks of politics, metaphysics and criticism'. It is possible that some of his publications are still unidentified, since he wrote anonymously. Those identified are the Falstaff essay, and pamphlets on a national militia, the slave trade, the prevention of adultery, and the state of France in 1794. Boswell, who calls the Falstaff essay 'very ingenious', records two particular meetings between Morgann and Dr. Johnson. On the one occasion the pair had a dispute 'pretty late at night', and Johnson 'would not give up though he was in the wrong', but he acknowledged his error next morning at breakfast ; on the other, Morgann broke down the doctor's pretended admiration of a poetaster by provoking him diplo-

matically to the celebrated admission, 'Sir, there is no settling the point of precedency between a louse and a flea.'


The *Essay on the Dramatic Character of Sir John Falstaff* was written in 1774, laid aside for some time, and revised and published in 1777 when Morgann was fifty-one and, as he says 'unengaged'. A second edition was soon called for, but, being withheld at his wish during his lifetime, did not appear till 1820. In 1825 a publisher saw reason to bring the essay out a third time; and the present is the fourth edition.

Morgann speaks of his work as 'a mere experiment . . . attended by all the difficulties and dangers of Novelty'. He might claim novelty for it upon two grounds. No previous study of a single character of Shakespeare's had been carried out on so elaborate a scale, and it seems that by the mere size of his example Morgann stimulated a branch of Shakespearian criticism that was soon to flourish greatly. Secondly,—and here he has had fewer imitators—he regarded his subject from a new point of view.

Writers about Shakespeare's characters appear usually to be prompted by one or more of

the following motives : to inquire into human nature itself, the persons in the plays being taken simply as real persons, like those in history ; to inquire into Shakespeare's conception and estimate of human nature ; to discover how the dramatist adapts human nature to the forms of his art. Morgann contends—and this is his special point of view—that the third of these enterprises should come first,—that we must begin by ascertaining how far the character is modified by the dramatic medium in which it is presented, before we can hope to learn anything certain from it either about human nature or about Shakespeare's conception and estimate of human nature.

The title of the essay carefully indicates this contention when it sets forth the subject as, not simply 'the character', but 'the dramatic character' of Falstaff,—that is, an adjusted character, arranged and manipulated by the craftsman for a particular occasion, with some features deliberately blurred or diminished and others deliberately thrown forward ; a character in an 'artificial condition' ; in short, a 'theatric form',—these two expressions, 'artificial condition' and 'theatric form', being used by Morgann as synonymous with 'dramatic character'. He argues in effect : if we did not instinctively, before a picture of a group of people, allow for



some influences of the artist's general scheme, of the contrasting juxtaposition of figures, and so on, what strange assertions we might make about the colouring and anatomy of the originals; and what kind of information about human nature, or about Shakespeare's conception of it, are we likely to obtain from the 'theatric form' of Falstaff, if the peculiarities or refractions of his presentation in the play are not distinguished and discounted first?

Morgann analysed his subject from this point of view with all the qualities of a great critic, except one: the essay is poorly arranged. The truth is, it overflowed its plan in the course of writing. Setting out for a piece of scholarly diversion, for a critical *jeu d'esprit*,—the defence of Falstaff from the charge of cowardice,—Morgann was soon tempted into a more serious inquiry and went deeper in it than his original plan allowed. He was reluctant to go so far, it seems, or at least was fully aware of something amorphous in the consequences. He deplors his lapses from the intended airy strain, and says in his preface: 'If the book shall be fortunate enough to obtain another impression, a separation may be made, and such of the heavier parts as cannot be wholly dispensed with sink to their proper station—a Note.' When a second impression

was called for, he probably did not refuse the demand until he had convinced himself that he could not harmonize his work by removing the heavier parts to the margin without destroying it. The observant reader, however, who is prepared for some confusion, will probably find clues enough scattered about to save him from missing often at a loss.

The essay is both a study of Falstaff and a study of Shakespeare, and the value of its point of view may be put to a double test. We may first compare it with other appreciations of the Knight which have a different point of view,—with Johnson's or Hazlitt's, for instance. These accounts are so much shorter than Morgann's that the sense of familiarity which comes from abundance of detail cannot be expected of them in the same measure; but the reader who turns from them to our essay may feel in it, apart from this, a deeper kind of intimacy which is due to its method. Morgann, he will perhaps feel, has a passport which enables him to go behind the scenes and to speak with the accent of certainty, where Johnson and Hazlitt, through their indifference to the 'artificial condition', are comparatively superficial and unconvincing. They seem to be fumbling at a lock with keys

which do not quite fit it. Morgann receives some suggestions, no doubt, from Johnson's remarks on Falstaff, and the similarity of ideas so far as it goes, makes the distinction of method all the plainer.

And then our author's guiding conception has enabled him to make a singularly penetrating exploration of the mind of the craftsman of the 'theatric form'. 'Falstaff is the word, but Shakespeare is the theme,' says Morgann, about his essay, and the reader will agree with him. He does not concern himself much with Shakespeare as a man, a poet, or a philosopher, but he flashes on us some glimpses so far-reaching into the *technique* and creative efforts of the dramatist that a reverent spectator might almost feel a little hesitation in taking advantage of them, as if he were trespassing on sacred mysteries.

#### NOTE

A few obvious misprints, in addition to those noticed in the *Errata* (p. 186) of the edition of 1777, have been corrected. But many harmless irregularities have been left unaltered in the reprint, which follows its original by page and line. And some doubtful readings have been given the benefit of the doubt.



---

AN

E S S A Y

ON

SHAKESPEARE'S *FALSTAFF*.

---

A N  
E S S A Y  
O N T H E  
D R A M A T I C C H A R A C T E R

O F  
S I R J O H N F A L S T A F F.

---

I am not *John of Gaunt* your Grandfather, but yet  
*no* COWARD, *Hal.*

*First Part of* HENRY IV.

---

L O N D O N:

PRINTED FOR T. DAVIES, IN RUSSEL-STREET,  
COVENT' GARDEN.

MDGCLXXVII.

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

---

---

P R E F A C E.

THE following sheets were written in consequence of a friendly conversation, turning by some chance upon the Character of FALSTAFF, wherein the Writer, maintaining contrary to the general Opinion, that this Character was not intended to be shewn as a Coward, he was challenged to deliver and support that Opinion from the Press, with engagement, now he fears forgotten, for it was three years ago, that he should be answered thro' the

same channel: Thus stimulated these papers were almost wholly written in a very short time, but not without those attentions, whether successful or not, which seemed necessary to carry them beyond the Press into the hands of the Public. From the influence of the foregoing circumstances it is that the Writer has generally assumed rather the character and tone of an Advocate than of an Inquirer;—though if he had not first *inquired* and been *convinced* he should never have attempted to  
 hav

have amused either himself or others with the subject.—The impulse of the occasion, however, being passed, the papers were thrown by, and almost forgotten: But having been looked into of late by some friends, who observing that the Writer had not enlarged so far for the sake of FALSTAFF alone, but that the Argument was made subservient to Critical amusement, persuaded him to revise and convey it to the Press. This has been accordingly done, though he fears something too hastily, as he found it proper

to add, while the papers were in the course of printing, some considerations on the *Whole* Character of FALSTAFF; which ought to have been accompanied by a slight reform of a few preceding passages, which may seem, in consequence of this addition, to contain too favourable a representation of his Morals.

The vindication of FALSTAFF's Courage is truly no otherwise the object than some old fantastic Oak, or grotesque Rock, may be the object of a morning's ride; yet  
being

being proposed as such, may serve to limit the distance, and shape the course: The real object is Exercise, and the Delight which a rich, beautiful, picturesque, and perhaps unknown Country, may excite from every side. Such an Exercise may admit of some little excursion, keeping however the Road in view; but seems to exclude every appearance of labour and of toil.—Under the impression of such feelings the Writer has endeavoured to preserve to his Text a certain lightness of air, and cheerfulness



fulness of tone; but is sensible however that the manner of discussion does not *every where*, particularly near the commencement, sufficiently correspond with his design.—If the Book shall be fortunate enough to obtain another Impression, a separation may be made; and such of the heavier parts as cannot be wholly dispensed with, sink to their more proper station,—a Note.

He is fearful likewise that he may have erred in the other extreme; and that having thought  
himself

himself intitled, even in argument, to a certain degree of playful discussion, may have pushed it, in a few places, even to levity. This error might be yet more easily reformed than the other.—The Book is perhaps, as it stands, too bulky for the subject; but if the Reader knew how many pressing considerations, as it grew into size, the Author resisted, which yet seemed intitled to be heard, he would the more readily excuse him.

The whole is a mere Experiment, and the Writer considers it as such :

It may have the advantages, but it is likewise attended with all the difficulties and dangers, of *No-velty*.

---

---

ON THE  
Dramatic Character

OF

Sir *JOHN FALSTAFF*.

---

THE ideas which I have formed concerning the Courage and Military Character of the Dramatic Sir *John Falstaff*, are so different from those which I find generally to prevail in the world, that I shall take the liberty of stating my sentiments on the subject; in hope that some person so unengaged as myself, will either correct and reform my error in this respect; or, joining himself to my opinion, redeem me from, what I may call, the reproach of singularity.

B

I am

I am to avow then, that I do not clearly discern that Sir *John Falstaff* deserves to bear the character so generally given him of an absolute Coward ; or, in other words, that I do not conceive *Shakespeare* ever meant to make Cowardice an essential part of his constitution.

I know how universally the contrary opinion prevails ; and I know what respect and deference are due to the public voice. But if to the avowal of this singularity, I add all the reasons that have led me to it, and acknowledge myself to be wholly in the judgment of the public, I shall hope to avoid the censure of too much forwardness or indecorum.

It must, in the first place, be admitted that the appearances in this case are singularly strong and striking ; and so they had need be, to become the ground of so general a censure. We see this extraordinary Character, almost in the first moment of our acquaintance with him, involved in circumstances

umstances of apparent dishonour; and we hear him familiarly called *Coward* by his most intimate companions. We see him, on occasion of the obbery at *Gads-Hill*, in the very act of running away from the Prince and *Poins*; and we behold him, on another of more honourable obligation, in open day light, in battle, and acting in his profession as a Soldier, escaping from *Douglas* even out of the world as it were; counterfeiting death, and deserting his very existence; and we find him on the former occasion, betrayed into those *lies* and *braggadoxies*, which are the usual concomitants of Cowardice in Military men, and pretenders to valour. These are not only in themselves strong circumstances, but they are moreover thrust forward, prest upon our notice as the subject of our mirth, as the great business of the scene: No wonder, therefore, that the word should go forth that *Falstaff* is exhibited as a character of Cowardice and dishonour.

What there is to the contrary of this, it is my business to discover. Much, I think, will presently

appear ; but it lies so dispersed, is so latent, and so purposely obscured, that the reader must have some patience whilst I collect it into one body and make it the object of a steady and regular contemplation.

But what have we to do, may my readers exclaim, with principles *so latent, so obscured* ? In Dramatic composition the *Impression* is the *Fact*; and the Writer, who, meaning to impress one thing, has impressed another, is unworthy of observation.

It is a very unpleasant thing to have, in the first setting out, so many and so strong prejudices to contend with. All that one can do in such case, is, to pray the reader to have a little patience in the commencement; and to reserve his censure, if it must pass, for the conclusion. Under his gracious allowance, therefore, I presume to declare it, as my opinion, that Cowardice *is not* the *Impression*, which the *whole* character of *Falstaff* is

is calculated to make on the minds of an unprejudiced audience ; tho' there be, I confess, a great deal of something in the *composition* likely enough to puzzle, and consequently to mislead the Understanding.—The reader will perceive that I distinguish between *mental Impressions*, and the *Understanding*.—I wish to avoid every thing that looks like subtlety and refinement ; but this is a distinction, which we all comprehend.—There are none of us unconscious of certain feelings or sensations of mind, which do not seem to have passed thro' the Understanding ; the effects, suppose, of some secret influences from without, acting upon a certain mental sense, and producing feelings and passions in just correspondence to the force and variety of those influences on the one hand, and to the quickness of our sensibility on the other. Be the cause, however, what it may, the fact is undoubtedly so ; which is all I am concerned in. And it is equally a fact, which every man's experience may avouch, that the Understanding and those feelings are frequently



at variance. The latter often arise from the most minute circumstances, and frequently from such as the Understanding cannot estimate, or even recognize ; whereas the Understanding delights in abstraction, and in general propositions ; which, however true considered as such, are very seldom, I had like to have said *never*, perfectly applicable to any particular case. And hence, among other causes, it is, that we often condemn or applaud characters and actions on the credit of some logical process, while our hearts revolt, and would fain lead us to a very different conclusion.

The Understanding seems for the most part to take cognizance of *actions* only, and from these to infer *motives* and *character* ; but the sense we have been speaking of proceeds in a contrary course ; and determines of *actions* from certain *first principles of character*, which seem wholly out of the reach of the Understanding. We cannot indeed do otherwise than admit that there must  
be

distinct principles of character in every distinct individual : The manifest variety even in minds of infants will oblige us to this. But *are* these first principles of character ? the objects, I am persuaded, of the Understanding ; and yet we take as strong Impressions from them as if we could compare and assort them syllogism. We often love or hate at first ; and indeed, in general, dislike or approve from some secret reference to these *principles* ; and judge even of conduct, not from any idea of abstract good or evil in the nature of actions, but by referring those actions to a supposed original character in the man himself. I do not mean we *talk* thus ; we could not indeed, if we would, explain ourselves in detail on this head ; we can neither account for Impressions and passions, nor communicate them to others by *words* : Gestures and looks will sometimes convey the *passion* intelligibly, but the *Impression* is incommunicable. The same causes may produce it indeed at the same time in many, but it is the separate possession of

2                                      B 4                                      each,

each, and not in its nature transferable : It is an imperfect sort of instinct, and proportionably dumb.—We might indeed, if we chose it, candidly confess to one another, that we are greatly swayed by these feelings, and are by no means *rational* in all points as we could wish ; but this would be a betraying of the interests of that high faculty, the Understanding, which we so value ourselves upon, and which we more peculiarly call our own. This, we think, must not be done, and so we huddle up the matter, concealing it as much as possible, both from ourselves and others. In Books indeed, wherein character, motive, and action, are all alike subjected to the Understanding, it is generally a very clear case, and we make decisions compounded of the two : And thus we are willing to approve of *Candide* tho' he kills my Lord the Inquisitor, and run thro' the body the Baron of *Thunder-ten-troncks*, the son of his patron, and the brother of his beloved *Cunégonde* : But in real life, I believe my Lords the Judges would be apt to inform us

*Gentlemen*

*Gentlemen of the Jury*, that my *Lord the Inquisitor* was ill killed ; as *Candide* did not proceed on the urgency of the moment, but on the speculation only of future evil. And indeed this clear perception, in Novels and Plays, of the union of character and action not seen in nature, is the principal defect of such compositions, and what renders them but ill pictures of human life, and wretched guides of conduct.

But if there was *one man* in the world, who could make a more perfect draught of real nature, and steal such Impressions on his audience, without their special notice, as should keep their hold in spite of any error of their Understanding, and should thereupon venture to introduce an apparent incongruity of character and action, for ends which I shall presently endeavour to explain ; such an imitation would be worth our nicest curiosity and attention. But in such a case as this, the reader might expect that he should find us all talking the language of the Under-  
standing

standing only; that is, censuring the action with very little conscientious investigation even of *that*; and transferring the censure, in every odious colour, to the actor himself; how much soever our hearts and affections might secretly revolt: For as to the *Impression*, we have already observed that it has no tongue; nor is its operation and influence likely to be made the subject of conference and communication.

It is not to the *Courage* only of *Falstaff* that we think these observations will apply: No part whatever of his character seems to be fully settled in our minds; at least there is something strangely incongruous in our discourse and affections concerning him. We all like *Old Jack* yet, by some strange perverse fate, we all abuse him, and deny him the possession of any one single good or respectable quality. There is something extraordinary in this: It must be a strange art in *Shakespeare* which can draw our liking and good will towards so offensive an object. He has wit, it will be said; cheerfulness and humour of the most characteristic and captivating

fort. And is this enough? Is the humour and gaiety of vice so very captivating? Is the wit, characteristic of baseness and every ill quality capable of attaching the heart and winning the affections? Or does not the apparency of such humour, and the flashes of such wit, by more strongly disclosing the deformity of character, but the more effectually excite our hatred and contempt of the man? And yet this is not our *feeling* of *Falstaff's* character. When he has ceased to amuse us, we find no emotions of disgust; we can scarcely forgive the ingratitude of the Prince in the new-born virtue of the King, and we curse the severity of that poetic justice which consigns our old good-natured delightful companion to the custody of the *warden*, and the dishonours of the *l'leet*.

I am willing, however, to admit that if a Dramatic writer will but preserve to any character the qualities of a strong mind, particularly Courage and ability, that it will be afterwards no very difficult task (as I may have occasion to explain)

plain) to discharge that *disgust* which arises from vicious manners ; and even to attach us (if such character should contain any quality productive of cheerfulness and laughter) to the cause and subject of our mirth with some degree of affection.

But the question which I am to consider is of a very different nature : It is a question of fact, and concerning a quality which forms the basis of every respectable character ; a quality which is the very essence of a Military man ; and which is held up to us, in almost every Comic incident of the Play, as the subject of our observation. It is strange then that it should now be a question, whether *Falstaff* is, or is not a man of Courage ; and whether we do in fact condemn him for the want, or respect him for the possession of that quality : And yet I believe the reader will find that he has by no means decided this question, even for himself.—If then it should turn out, that this difficulty has arisen out of the Art of  
*Shakespeare*

*Shakespeare*, who has contrived to make secret Impressions upon us of Courage, and to preserve those Impressions in favour of a character which was to be held up for sport and laughter on account of actions of apparent Cowardice and dishonour, we shall have less occasion to wonder, as *Shakespeare* is a Name which contains All of Dramatic artifice and genius.

If in this place the reader shall peevishly and prematurely object that the observations and distinctions I have laboured to establish, are wholly inapplicable; he being himself unconscious of ever having received any such Impression; what can be done in so nice a case, but to refer him to the following pages; by the number of which he may judge how very much I respect his objection, and by the variety of those proofs, which I shall employ to induce him to part with it; and to recognize in its stead certain feelings, concealed and covered over perhaps, but not razed, by time, reasoning, and authority.

In



In the mean while, it may not perhaps be easy for him to resolve how it comes about, that, whilst we look upon *Falstaff* as a character of the like nature with that of *Parolles* or of *Bobadil*, we should preserve for him a great degree of respect and good-will, and yet feel the highest disdain and contempt of the others, tho' they are all involved in similar situations. The reader, I believe, would wonder extremely to find either *Parolles* or *Bobadil* possess himself in danger : What then can be the cause that we are not at all surprized at the gaiety and ease of *Falstaff* under the most trying circumstances ; and that we never think of charging *Shakespeare* with departing, on this account, from the truth and coherence of character ? Perhaps, after all, the *real* character of *Falstaff* may be different from his *apparent* one ; and possibly this difference between reality and appearance, whilst it accounts at once for our liking and our censure, may be the true point of humour in the character, and the source of all our laughter and delight. We  
may

ly chance to find, if we will but examine a  
 le into the nature of those circumstances  
 ich have accidentally involved him, that he  
 s intended to be drawn as a character of much  
 tural courage and resolution; and he obliged  
 reupon to repeal those decisions, which may  
 ve been made upon the credit of some general  
 o' unapplicable propositions; the common  
 arce of error in other and higher matters. A  
 le reflection may perhaps bring us round again  
 the point of our departure, and unite our Un-  
 rstandings to our instinct. Let us then for a  
 oment *suspend* at least our decisions, and coolly  
 d coolly inquire if Sir *John Falstaff* be, indeed,  
 at he has so often been called by critic and  
 mmentator, male and female, a *Constitutional*  
*ward*.

It will scarcely be possible to consider the Cou-  
 ge of *Falstaff* as wholly detached from his other  
 alities: But I write not professedly of any part  
 his character, but what is included under the  
 term

term, *Courage* ; however I may incidentally throw some lights on the whole.—The reader will not need to be told that this Inquiry will resolve itself of course into a Critique on the genius, the arts, and the conduct of *Shakespeare* : For what is *Falstaff*, what *Lear*, what *Hamlet*, or *Othello*, but different modifications of *Shakespeare's* thought ? It is true that this Inquiry is narrowed almost to a single point : But general criticism is as uninformative as it is easy : *Shakespeare* deserves to be considered in detail ;—a task hitherto unattempted.

It may be proper, in the first place, to take a short view of all the parts of *Falstaff's* Character, and then proceed to discover, if we can, what *Impressions*, as to Courage or Cowardice, he had made on the persons of the Drama : After which we will examine, in course, such evidence, either of *persons* or *facts*, as are relative to the matter ; and account as we may for those appearances, which seem to have led to the opinion of his Constitutional Cowardice.

The

The scene of the robbery, and the disgraces attending it, which stand first in the Play, and introduce us to the knowledge of *Falstaff*, I shall beg leave (as I think this scene to have been the source of much unreasonable prejudice) to *reserve* till we are more fully acquainted with the whole character of *Falstaff*; and I shall therefore hope that the reader will not for a time advert to it, or to the jests of the *Prince* or of *Poins* in consequence of that unlucky adventure.

In drawing out the parts of *Falstaff*'s character, with which I shall begin this Inquiry, I shall take the liberty of putting Constitutional bravery into his composition; but the reader will be pleased to consider what I shall say in that respect as spoken hypothetically for the present, to be retained, or discharged out of it, as he shall finally determine.

To me then it appears that the leading quality in *Falstaff*'s character, and that from which all the rest take their colour, is a high degree of wit

and humour, accompanied with great natural vigour and alacrity of mind. This quality so accompanied, led him probably very early into life, and made him highly acceptable to society; so acceptable, as to make it seem unnecessary for him to acquire any other virtue. Hence, perhaps, his continued debaucheries and dissipations of every kind.—He seems, by nature, to have had a mind free of malice or any evil principle; but he never took the trouble of acquiring any good one. He found himself esteemed and beloved with all his faults; nay *for* his faults, which were all connected with humour, and for the most part, grew out of it. As he had, possibly, no vices but such as he thought might be openly professed, so he appeared more dissolute thro' ostentation. To the character of wit and humour, to which all his other qualities seem to have conformed themselves, he appears to have added a very necessary support, *that* of the profession of a *Soldier*. He had from nature, as I presume to say, a spirit of boldness and enterprise; which in a Military age,

ge, tho' employment was only occasional, kept him always above contempt, secured him an honourable reception among the Great, and suited best both with his particular mode of humour and of vice. Thus living continually in society, say even in Taverns, and indulging himself, and being indulged by others, in every debauchery; drinking, whoring, gluttony, and ease; assuming liberty of fiction, necessary perhaps to his wit, and often falling into falsity and lies; he seems to have set, by degrees, all sober reputation at defiance; and finding eternal resources in his wit, he borrows, shifts, defrauds, and even robs, without disonour.—Laughter and approbation attend his reatest excesses; and being governed visibly by no settled bad principle or ill design, fun and humour account for and cover all. By degrees, however, and thro' indulgence, he acquires bad habits, becomes an humourist, grows enormously corpulent, and falls into the infirmities of age; yet never quits, all the time, one single levity or piece of youth, or loses any of that cheerfulness of

mind, which had enabled him to pass thro' the course with ease to himself and delight to others; and thus, at last, mixing youth and age, enterprize and corpulency, wit and folly, poverty and expence, title and buffoonery, innocence as to purpose, and wickedness as to practice; neither incurring hatred by bad principle, or contempt by Cowardice, yet involved in circumstances productive of imputation in both; a butt and a wit, a humourist and a man of humour, a touchstone and a laughing stock, a jester and a jest, has Sir *John Falstaff*, taken at that period of his life in which we see him, become the most perfect Comic character that perhaps ever was exhibited.

It may not possibly be wholly amiss to remark in this place, that if Sir *John Falstaff* had possessed any of that Cardinal quality, Prudence, alike the guardian of virtue and the protector of vice; that quality, from the possession or the absence of which, the character and fate of men in this life take, I think, their colour, and not from real vice or virtue; if he had considered his wit not as *principal* but *accessary* only; as the instrument of

power, and not as power itself; if he had had much baseness to hide, if he had had less of what may be called mellowness or good humour, or less of health and spirit; if he had spurred and rode the world with his wit, instead of suffering the world, boys and all, to ride him; he might, without any other essential change, have been the admiration and not the jest of mankind: Or if he had lived in our day, and instead of attaching himself to one Prince, had renounced *all* friendship and *all* attachment, and had let himself out as the ready instrument and Zany of every successive Minister, he might possibly have acquired the high honour of marking his shroud or decorating his coffin with the living rays of an Irish at least, if not a British Coronet: Instead of which, tho' enforcing laughter from every disposition, he appears, now, as such a character, which every wise man will pity and avoid, every brave will censure, and every fool will fear: And accordingly *Shakespeare*, ever true to nature, has made *Harry* desert, and *Lancaster* censure him:—He dies where he lived, in a Tavern, broken-



hearted, without a friend ; and his final exit given up to the derision of fools. Nor has his misfortunes ended here ; the scandal arising from the misapplication of his wit and talents seems immortal. He has met with as little justice or mercy from his final judges the critics, as from his companions of the Drama. With our cheeks flared with laughter, we ungratefully and unjustly censure him as a coward by nature, and a rascal upon principle : 'Tho', if this were so, it might be hoped, for our own credit, that we should behold him rather with disgust and disapprobation than with pleasure and delight.

But to remember our question—*Is Falstaff constitutional coward ?*

With respect to every infirmity, except that of Cowardice, we must take him as at the period in which he is represented to us. If we see him dissipated, fat,—it is enough ;—we have nothing to do with his youth, when he might perhaps

ha

have been modest, chaste, "*and not an Eagle's talon in the waist.*" But *Constitutional Courage* extends to a man's whole life, makes a part of his nature, and is not to be taken up or deserted like a mere Moral quality. It is true, there is a Courage founded upon *principle*, or rather a principle independent of Courage, which will sometimes operate in spite of nature; a principle, which prefers death to shame, but which always refers itself, in conformity to its own nature, to the prevailing modes of honour, and the fashions of the age.—But Natural courage is another thing: It is independent of opinion; It adapts itself to occasions, preserves itself under every shape, and can avail itself of flight as well as of action.—In the last war, some Indians of America perceiving a line of Highlanders to keep their station under every disadvantage, and under a fire which they could not effectually return, were miserably mistaken in our points of honour as we conjecture, from observation on the habit and

stability of those troops, that they were indeed the women of England, who wanted courage to run away.—That Courage which is founded in nature and constitution, *Falstaff*, as I presume to say, possessed ;—but I am ready to allow that the principle already mentioned, so far as it refers to reputation only, began with every other Moral quality to lose its hold on him in his old age ; that is, at the time of life in which he is represented to us ; a period, as it should seem approaching to *seventy*.—The truth is that he had drollery enough to support himself in credit without the point of honour, and had address enough to make even the preservation of his life a point of drollery. The reader knows I allude, tho' something prematurely, to his fictitious death in the battle of Shrewsbury. This incident is generally construed to the disadvantage of *Falstaff* : It is a transaction which bears the external marks of Cowardice : It is also aggravated to the spectator by the idle tricks of the Player, who practised

on this occasion all the attitudes and wild apprehensions of fear ; more ambitious, as it should seem, of representing a Caliban than a *Falstaff* ; or indeed rather a poor unweildy miserable Tortoise than either.—The painful Comedian lies spread out on his belly, and not only covers himself all over with his robe as with a shell, but forms a kind of round Tortoise-back by I know not what stuffing or contrivance ; in addition to which, he alternately lifts up, and depresses, and dodges his head, and looks to the one side and to the other, so much with the piteous aspect of that animal, that one would not be sorry to see the ambitious imitator calipashed in his robe, and served up for the entertainment of the gallery.—There is no hint for this mummary in the Play : Whatever there may be of dishonour in *Falstaff*'s conduct, he neither does or says any thing on this occasion which indicates terror or disorder of mind : On the contrary, this very act is a proof of his having all his wits about him, and is a stratagem, such as it is, not improper for a buffoon

buffoon, whose fate would be singularly hard if he should not be allowed to avail himself of his Character when it might serve him in most stead. We must remember, in extenuation, that the executive, the destroying hand of *Douglas* was over him : “ *It was time to counterfeit, or the hot termagant Scot had paid him Scot and lot too.*” He had but one choice ; he was obliged to pass thro’ the ceremony of dying either in jest or in earnest ; and we shall not be surprized at the event, when we remember his propensities to the former.—Life (and especially the life of *Falstaff*) might be a jest ; but he could see no joke whatever in dying : ‘ To be chopfallen was, with him to lose both life and character together :’ He saw the point of honour, as well as every thing else, in ridiculous lights, and began to renounce its tyranny.

But I am too much in advance, and must retreat for more advantage. I should not forget how much opinion is against me, and that I am to make my way by the mere force and weight

weight of evidence ; without which I must not hope to possess myself of the reader : No address, no insinuation will avail. To this evidence, then, I now resort. The Courage of *Falstaff* is my Theme : And no passage will I spare from which any thing can be inferred as relative to this point. It would be as vain as injudicious to attempt concealment : How could I escape detection ? The Play is in every one's memory, and a single passage remembered in detection would tell, in the mind of the partial observer, for fifty times its real weight. Indeed this argument would be void of all excuse if it declined any difficulty ; if it did not meet, if it did not challenge opposition. Every passage then shall be produced from which, in my opinion, any inference, favourable or unfavourable, has or can be drawn ;—but not methodically, not formally, as texts for comment, but as chance or convenience shall lead the way ; but in what shape soever, they shall be always distinguishingly marked for notice. And so  
with

with that attention to truth and candour which ought to accompany even our lightest amusement I proceed to offer such proof as the case will admit, that *Courage* is a part of *Falstaff's Character* that it belonged to his constitution, and was manifest in the conduct and practice of his whole life.

Let us then examine, as a source of very authentic information, what Impressions *Sir John Falstaff* had made on the characters of the Drama and in what estimation he is supposed to stand with mankind in general as to the point of Personal Courage. But the quotations we make for this or other purposes, must, it is confessed, be lightly touched, and no particular passage strongly relied on, either in his favour or against him. Every thing which he himself says, or is said of him, is so phantastically discoloured by humour or folly, or jest, that we must for the most part look to the spirit rather than the letter of what

is uttered, and rely at last only on a combination of the whole.

We will begin then, if the reader pleases, by inquiring what Impression the very Vulgar had taken of *Falstaff*. If it is not that of Cowardice, be it what else it may, that of a man of violence, or a *Ruffian in years*, as Harry calls him, or any thing else, it answers my purpose ; how insignificant soever the characters or incidents to be first produced may otherwise appear ;—for these Impressions must have been taken either from personal knowledge and observation ; or, what will do better for my purpose, from common fame. Altho' I must admit some part of this evidence will appear so weak and trifling that it certainly ought not to be produced but in proof Impression only.

The *Hostess Quickly* employs two officers to arrest *Falstaff*: On the mention of his name, one of them immediately observes, "*that it may chance to cost some*  
*" of*



*"of them their lives, for that he will stab.—Alas a day,"*  
 says the hostess, *"take heed of him, he cares not*  
*"what mischief he doth; if his weapon be out he will*  
*"foin like any devil; He will spare neither man,*  
*"woman, or child."* Accordingly, we find that  
 when they lay hold on him he resists to the utmost  
 of his power, and calls upon *Bardolph*, whose  
 arms are at liberty, to draw. *"Away, varlets, draw*  
*"Bardolph, cut me off the villain's head, throw the*  
*quean in the kennel."* The officers cry, *a rescue, a*  
*rescue!* But the Chief Justice comes in and the  
 scuffle ceases. In another scene, his wench *Doll*  
*Tearsheet* asks him *"when he will leave fighting*  
*\*\*\*\*\* and patch up his old body for heaven."*  
 This is occasioned by his drawing his rapier, on  
 great provocation, and driving *Pistol*, who is  
 drawn likewise, down stairs, and hurting him in  
 the shoulder. To drive *Pistol* was no great feat;  
 nor do I mention it as such; but upon this  
 occasion it was necessary. *"A Rascal bragging slave,*  
 says he, *"the rogue fled from me like quicksilver."* Ex-  
 pressions, which as they remember the cow-  
ardice

lice of *Pistol*, seem to prove that *Falstaff* did not value himself on the adventure. Even something may be drawn from *Davy*, *Shallow's* serving man, who calls *Falstaff*, in ignorant admiration, the *man of war*. I must observe here, and I beg the reader will notice it, that there is not a single expression dropt by these people, or either of *Falstaff's* followers, from which may be inferred the least suspicion of Cowardice in his character; and this is I think such an *implied negation* as deserves considerable weight.

But to go a little higher, if, indeed, to consider *Shallow's* opinion be to go *higher*: It is from him, however, that we get the earliest account of *Falstaff*. He remembers him a Page to *Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolk*: "He broke, says he, "*Schoggan's head at the Court-Gate when he was but a crack thus high.*" *Shallow*, throughout, considers him as a great Leader and Soldier, and relates this fact as an early indication only of his future Prowess. *Shallow* it is true, is a very ridiculous

culous character; but he picked up these Impressions somewhere; and he picked up none of a contrary tendency.—I want at present only to prove that *Falstaff* stood well in the report of common fame as to this point; and he was now near seventy years of age, and had passed in a Military line thro' the active part of his life. At this period common fame may be well considered as the *seal* of his character; a seal which ought not perhaps to be broke open on the evidence of any future transaction.

But to proceed. *Lord Bardolph* was a man of the world, and of sense and observation. He informs *Northumberland*, erroneously indeed, that *Percy* had beaten the King at Shrewsbury. "*The King*," according to him, "*was wounded; the Prince of Wales and the two Blunts slain, certain Nobles, whom he names, had escaped by flight, and the Brawn Sir John Falstaff was taken prisoner.*" But how came *Falstaff* into this list? Common fame had put him there. He is singularly obliged

ged to Common fame.—But if he had not been a Soldier of repute, if he had not been brave as well as fat, if he had been *mere brawn*, it would have been more germane to the matter if this lord had put him down among the baggage or the provender. The fact seems to be, that there is a real consequence about Sir *John Falstaff* which is not brought forward : We see him only in his familiar hours ; we enter the tavern with *Hal* and *Poins* ; we join in the laugh and *take a pride to gird at him* : But there may be a great deal of truth in what he himself writes to the Prince, that tho' he be "*Jack Falstaff with his Familiars, he is Sir John with the rest of Europe.*" It has been remarked, and very truly I believe, that no man is a hero in the eye of his valet-de-chambre ; and thus it is, we are witnesses only of *Falstaff's* weakness and buffoonery ; our acquaintance is with *Jack Falstaff, Plump Jack, and Sir John Paunch* ; but if we would look for *Sir John Falstaff*, we must put on, as *Bunyan* would have expressed it, the spectacles of observation. With respect, for instance,

D

to

to his Military command at Shrewsbury, nothing appears on the surface but the Prince's familiarly saying, in the tone usually assumed when speaking of *Falstaff*, "*I will procure this fat rogue a Charge of foot ;*" and in another place, "*I will procure thee Jack a Charge of foot ; meet me to-morrow in the Temple Hall.*" Indeed we might venture to infer from this, that a Prince of so great ability, whose wildness was only external and assumed, would not have procured, in so nice and critical a conjuncture, a Charge of foot for a known Coward. But there was more it seems in the case : We now find from this report, to which *Lord Bardolph* had given full credit, that the world had its eye upon *Falstaff* as an officer of merit, whom it expected to find in the field, and whose fate in the battle was an object of Public concern : His life was, it seems, very material indeed ; a thread of so much dependence, that *fizion*, weaving the fates of Princes, did not think it unworthy, how coarse soever, of being made a part of the tissue.

We shall next produce the evidence of the Chief Justice of England. He inquires of his attendant, "*if the man who was then passing him was Falstaff; he who was in question for the robbery.*" The attendant answers affirmatively, but reminds his lord "*that he had since done good service at Shrewsbury;*" and the Chief Justice, on this occasion, rating him for his debaucheries, tells him '*that his day's service at Shrewsbury had gilded over his night's exploit at Gads Hill.*' This is surely more than Common fame: *The Chief Justice* must have known his whole character taken together, and must have received the most authentic information, and in the truest colours, of his behaviour in that action.

But, perhaps, after all, the Military men may be esteemed the best judges in points of this nature. Let us hear then *Coleville* of the dale, a *Soldier*, in degree a *Knight*, a famous rebel, and "*whose betters, had they been ruled by him, would have sold themselves dearer.*" A man who is of consequence

enough to be guarded by *Blunt* and led to present execution. This man yields himself up even to the very Name and Reputation of *Falstaff*. "*I think,*" says he, "*you are Sir John Falstaff, and in that thought yield me.*" But this is but one only among the men of the sword ; they shall be produced then by dozens, if that will satisfy. Upon the return of the King and Prince Henry from Wales, the Prince seeks out and finds *Falstaff* debauching in a tavern ; where *Peto* presently brings an account of ill news from the North ; and adds, "*that as he came along he met or overtook a dozen Captains, bare headed, sweating, knocking at the taverns, and asking every one for Sir John Falstaff.*" He is followed by *Bardolph*, who informs *Falstaff* that "*He must away to the Court immediately ; a dozen Captains stay at door for him.*" Here is Military evidence in abundance, and Court evidence too ; for what are we to infer from *Falstaff*'s being sent for to Court on this ill news, but that his opinion was to be asked, as a Military man of skill and experience, concerning the defences necessary to be taken. Nor is

*Shakespeare*

*Shakespeare* content, here, with leaving us to gather up *Falstaff's* better character from inference and deduction : He comments on the fact by making *Falstaff* observe that "*Men of merit are sought after : The undeserver may sleep when the man of action is called on.*" I do not wish to draw *Falstaff's* character out of his own mouth ; but this observation refers to the fact, and is founded in reason. Nor ought we to reject, what in another place he says to the Chief Justice, as it is in the nature of an appeal to his knowledge. "*There is not a dangerous action,*" says he, "*can peep out his head but am thrust upon it.*" The Chief Justice seems by his answer to admit the fact. "*Well, be honest, be swift, and heaven bless your expedition.*" But the whole passage may deserve transcribing.

Ch. Just. "*Well, the King has severed you and since Henry. I hear you are going with Lord John Lancaster, against the Archbishop and the Earl of Northumberland.*"



“Falst. Yes, I thank your pretty sweet wit for it; but  
 “look you pray, all you that kiss my lady peace at home  
 “that our armies join not in a hot day; for I take but  
 “two shirts out with me, and I mean not to sweat ex-  
 “traordinarily: If it be a hot day, if I brandish an-  
 “thing but a bottle, would I might never spit white  
 “again. There is not a dangerous action can peer  
 “out his head but I am thrust upon it. Well I cannot  
 “last for ever.—But it was always the trick of our  
 “English nation, if they have a good thing to make it  
 “too common. If you will needs say I am an old man  
 “you should give me rest: I would to God my name  
 “were not so terrible to the enemy as it is. I were  
 “better to be eaten to death with a rust than to be scoured  
 “to nothing with perpetual motion.”

“Ch. Just. Well be honest, be honest, and heaven  
 “bless your expedition.”

Falstaff indulges himself here in humourous  
 exaggeration;—these passages are not meant to  
 be taken, nor are we to suppose that they were  
 taken

taken, literally;—but if there was not a ground of truth, if *Falstaff* had not had such a degree of Military reputation as was capable of being thus humourously amplified and exaggerated, the whole dialogue would have been highly preposterous and absurd, and the acquiescing answer of the *Lord Chief Justice* singularly improper.—But upon the supposition of *Falstaff*'s being considered, upon the whole, as a good and gallant Officer, the answer is just, and corresponds with the acknowledgment which had a little before been made, “*that his day's service at Shrewsbury had gilded over his night's exploit at Gads Hill.*—You may thank the unquiet time, says the Chief Justice, “*for your quiet o'erposting of that action ;*” agreeing with what *Falstaff* says in another place ;—“*Well God be thanked for these Rebels, they offend none but the virtuous ; I laud them, I praise them.*”—Whether this be said in the true spirit of a Soldier or not, I do not determine ; it is surely not in that of a mere Coward and Poltroon.

It will be needless to shew, which might be done from a variety of particulars, that *Falstaff* was known, and had consideration at Court. *Shallow* cultivates him in the idea that *a friend at Court is better than a penny in purse*: *Westmorland* speaks to him in the tone of an equal: Upon *Falstaff*'s telling him, that he thought his lordship had been already at Shrewsbury, *Westmorland* replies,—*Faith Sir John, 'tis more than time* “*that I were there, and you too; the King I can tell*” “*you looks for us all; we must away all to night.*—” “*Tut, says Falstaff, never fear me, I am as vigilant*” “*as a cat to steal cream.*”—He desires, in another place, of my lord John of Lancaster, “*that when he goes to Court, he may stand in his good report.*” His intercourse and correspondence with both these lords seem easy and familiar. Go, says he to the page, “*bear this to my Lord of Lancaster, this*” “*to the Prince, this to the Earl of Westmorland, and*” “*this (for he extended himself on all sides) to old Mrs. Ursula,*” whom it seems, the rogue ought to have married many years before.—But these intimations

intimations are needless : We see him ourselves in the *Royal Presence*; where, certainly, his buffooneries never brought him ; nor was the Prince of a character to commit so high an indecorum, as to thrust, upon a solemn occasion, a mere Tavern companion into his father's Presence, especially in a moment when he himself deserts his looser character, and takes up that of a *Prince indeed*.—In a very important scene, where *Worcester* is expected with proposals from *Percy*, and wherein he is received, is treated with, and carries back offers of accommodation from the King, the King's attendants upon the occasion are the *Prince of Wales*, *Lord John of Lancaster*, the *Earl of Westmorland*, *Sir Walter Blunt*, and *Sir John Falstaff*.—What shall be said to this ? Falstaff is not surely introduced here in vicious indulgence to a mob audience ;—he utters but one word, a buffoon one indeed, but aside and to the Prince only. Nothing, it should seem, is wanting, if decorum would here have permitted, but that he should have spoken one sober sentence in the Presence

Presence (which yet we are to suppose him ready and able to do if occasion should have required; or his wit was given him to little purpose) and Sir *John Falstaff* might be allowed to pass for an established Courtier and counsellor of state. “*If I do grow great, says he, I’ll grow less, purge and leave sack, and live as a nobleman should do.*” Nobility did not then appear to him at an unmeasurable distance; it was, it seems, in his idea, the very next link in the chain.

But to return. I would now demand what could bring *Falstaff* into the Royal Presence upon such an occasion, or justify the Prince’s so public acknowledgment of him, but an established fame and reputation of Military merit? In short, just the like merit as brought Sir *Walter Blunt* into the same circumstances of honour.

But it may be objected that his introduction into this scene is a piece of indecorum in the author. But upon what ground are we to suppose

pose this ? Upon the ground of his being a notorious Coward ? Why this is the very point in question, and cannot be granted : Even the direct contrary I have affirmed, and am endeavouring to support. But if it be supposed upon any other ground, it does not concern me ; I have nothing to do with *Shakespeare's* indecorums in general. That there are indecorums in the Play I have no doubt : The indecent treatment of *Percy's* dead body is the greatest ;—the familiarity of the insignificant, rude, and even ill disposed *Poins* with the Prince, is another ;—but the admission of *Falstaff* into the Royal Presence (supposing, which I have a right to suppose, that his Military character was unimpeached) does not seem to be in any respect among the number. In camps there is but one virtue and one vice ; Military merit swallows up or covers all. But, after all, what have we to do with indecorums ? Indecorums respect the propriety or impropriety of exhibiting certain actions ;—not their *truth* or *falsehood* when exhibited. *Shakespeare* stands to us in the place  
of

of *truth* and *nature*: If we desert this principle we cut the turf from under us; I may then object to the robbery and other passages as indecorous, and as contrary to the truth of character. In short we may rend and tear the Play to pieces, and every man carry off what sentences he likes best.—But why this inveterate malice against poor *Falstaff*? He has faults enough in conscience without loading him with the infamy of Cowardice; a charge, which, if true, would, if I am not greatly mistaken, spoil all our mirth.—But of that hereafter.

It seems to me that, in our hasty judgment of some particular transactions, we forget the circumstances and condition of his whole life and character, which yet deserve our very particular attention. The author, it is true, has thrown the most advantageous of these circumstances into the *back ground* as it were, and has brought nothing *out of the canvass* but his follies and buffoonery. We discover however, that in a very early period  
of

of his life he was familiar with *John of Gaunt* ; which could hardly be, unless he had possessed much personal gallantry and accomplishment, and had derived his birth from a distinguished at least, if not from a Noble family.

It may seem very extravagant to insist upon *Halstaff's* birth as a ground from which, by any inference, Personal courage may be derived, especially after having acknowledged that he seemed to have deserted those points of honour, which are more peculiarly the accompaniments of rank. But it may be observed that in the feudal ages rank and wealth were not only connected with the point of honour, but with personal strength and natural courage. It is observable that Courage is a quality, which is at least transmissible to one's posterity as features and complexion. In these periods men acquired and maintained their rank and possessions by personal prowess and gallantry ; and their marriage alliances were made, of course, in families of the same



same character : And from hence, and from the exercises of their youth, we must account for the distinguished force and bravery of our valiant Barons. It is not therefore beside my purpose to inquire what hints of the origin and birth of *Falstaff*, *Shakespeare* may have dropped in different parts of the Play ; for tho' we may be disposed to allow that *Falstaff* in his old age might, under particular influences, desert the point of honour, we cannot give up that unalienable possession of Courage, which might have been derived to him from a noble or distinguished stock.

But it may be said that *Falstaff* was in truth the child of invention only, and that a reference to the Feudal accidents of birth serves only to confound fiction with reality : Not altogether so. If the ideas of Courage and *birth* were strongly associated in the days of *Shakespeare*, then would the assignment of high birth to *Falstaff* carry, and be intended to carry along with it, to the minds of the audience the associated idea of Courage,

if nothing should be specially interposed to dissolve the connection ;—and the question is as concerning this intention, and this effect.

I shall proceed yet farther to make a few very minute observations of the same nature : But if *Shakespeare* meant sometimes rather to *impress* than explain, no circumstances calculated to this end, either directly or by association, are too minute for notice. But however this may be, a more conciliating reason still remains : The argument itself, like the tales of our Novelists, is a *vehicle* only ; *theirs*, as they profess, of moral instruction ; and *mine* of critical amusement. The vindication of *Falstaff's* Courage deserves not for its own sake the least sober discussion ; *Falstaff* is the word only, *Shakespeare* is the *Theme* : And if thro' this channel, I can furnish no irrational amusement, the reader will not, perhaps, every where expect from me the strict severity of logical investigation.

*Falstaff*, then, it may be observed, was introduced into the world,—(at least we are told so)  
by

by the name of *Oldcastle*.\* This was assigning him an origin of nobility; but the family of that name disclaiming any kindred with his vices, he was thereupon, as it is said, ingrafted into another stock † scarcely less distinguished, tho' fallen into indelible disgraces; and by this means

\* I believe the stage was in possession of some rude outline of *Falstaff* before the time of *Shakespeare*, under the name of *Sir John Oldcastle*; and I think it probable that this name was retained for a period in *Shakespeare's* *Hen. 4th.* but changed to *Falstaff* before the play was printed. The expression of "*Old Lad of the Castle*," used by the Prince, does not however decidedly prove this; as it might have been only some known and familiar appellation too carelessly transferred from the old Play.

† I doubt if *Shakespeare* had *Sir John Fastolfe* in his memory when he called the character under consideration *Falstaff*. The title and name of *Sir John* were transferred from *Oldcastle* not *Fastolfe*, and there is no kind of similarity in the characters. If he had *Fastolfe* in his thought at all, it was that while he approached the name, he might make such a departure from it as the difference of character seemed to require.

ie has been made, if the conjectures of certain critics are well founded, the Dramatic successor, ho', having respect to chronology, the natural successor of another Sir *John*, who was no less than a Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, but a name for ever dishonoured by a frequent exposure in that Drum-and-trumpet Thing called *The first part of Henry VI.* written doubtless, or rather exhibited, long before *Shakespeare* was born,\* tho' afterwards repaired, I think, and

E

furbished

\* It would be no difficult matter I think to prove that all those Plays taken from the English chronicle, which are ascribed to *Shakespeare*, were on the stage before his time, and that he was employed by the Players only to refit and repair; taking due care to retain the names of the characters and to preserve all those incidents which were the most popular. Some of these Plays, particularly the two parts of Hen. IV. have certainly received what may be called a *thorough repair*; that is, *Shakespeare* new-wrote them to the old names. In the latter part of Hen. V. some of the old materials remain; and in the Play which I have here censured (Hen. VI.) we see very little of the new. I should conceive it would not be very difficult to feel one's

way

furbished up by him with here and there a little sentiment and diction. This family, if any branch

way thro' these Plays, and distinguish every where the metal from the clay. Of the two Plays of Hen. IV. there has been, I have admitted, a complete transmutation, preserving the old forms; but in the others, there is often no union or coalescence of parts, nor are any of them equal in merit to those Plays more peculiarly and emphatically *Shakespeare's own*. The reader will be pleased to think that I do not reckon into the works of *Shakespeare* certain absurd productions which his editors have been so good as to compliment him with. I object, and strenuously too, even to *The Taming of the Shrew*; not that it wants merit, but that it does not bear the peculiar features and stamp of *Shakespeare*.

The rhyming parts of the Historie plays are all, I think, of an older date than the times of *Shakespeare*. —There was a Play, I believe, of *the Acts of King John*, of which the bastard *Falconbridge* seems to have been the hero and the fool: He appears to have spoken altogether in rhyme. *Shakespeare* shews him to us in the latter part of the second scene in the first act of *King John* in this condition; tho' he afterwards, in the course of the Play, thought fit to adopt him, to give him language and manners, and to make him his own.

branch of it remained in *Shakespeare's* time, might have been proud of their Dramatic ally, if indeed they could have any fair pretence to claim as such *him* whom *Shakespeare*, perhaps in contempt of Cowardice, wrote *Falstaff*, not *Falsolfe*, the true Historic name of the Gartered Craven.

In the age of Henry IV. a Family crest and arms were authentic proofs of gentility; and this proof, among others, *Shakespeare* has furnished us with : *Falstaff* always carried about him, it seems, a *Seal ring of his Grandfather's worth*, as he says, *forty marks* : The Prince indeed affirms, but not seriously I think, that this ring was *copper*. As to the existence of the *bonds*, which were I suppose the negotiable securities or paper-money of the time, and which he pretended to have lost, I have nothing to say ; but the ring, I believe, was really gold ; tho' probably a little too much alloyed with baser metal. But this is not the point : The *arms* were doubtless genuine ; they were borne by his Grandfather, and are proofs of an antient gentility ; a gentility doubtless, in

former periods, connected with wealth and possessions, tho' the gold of the family might have been transmuting by degrees, and perhaps, in the hands of *Falstaff*, converted into little better than copper. This observation is made on the supposition of *Falstaff*'s being considered as the head of the family, which I think however he ought not to be. It appears rather as if he ought to be taken in the light of a cadet or younger brother; which the familiar appellation of *John*, "the only one (as he says) given him by his brothers and sisters," seems to indicate. Be this as it may, we find he is able, in spite of dissipation, to keep up a certain *state* and *dignity* of appearance; retaining no less than four, if not five, followers or men servants in his train. He appears also to have had apartments in town, and, by his invitations of *Master Gower* to dinner and to supper, a regular table: And one may infer farther from the Prince's question, on his return from Wales, to *Bardolph*, "*Is your master here in London,*" that he had likewise a house in the country. Slight  
proofs

roofs it must be confessed, yet the inferences  
 e so probable, so buoyant, in their own nature,  
 at they may well rest on them. That he did  
 lodge at the Tavern is clear from the cir-  
 cumstances of the arrest. These various occa-  
 sions of expence,—servants, taverns, houses, and  
 stores,—necessarily imply that *Falstaff* must  
 have had some funds which are not brought im-  
 mediately under our notice. That these funds  
 are not however adequate to his style of living  
 plain : Perhaps his train may be considered  
 ly as incumbrances, which the pride of family  
 and the habit of former opulence might have  
 bought upon his present poverty : I do not mean  
 solute poverty, but call it so as relative to  
 expence. To have “ *but seven groats  
 and two-pence in his purse* ” and a page to  
 ur it, is truly ridiculous ; and it is for that rea-  
 we become so familiar with its contents, “ *He  
 an find* ” he says, “ *no remedy for this consumption  
 f the purse, borrowing does but linger and linger  
 out ; but the disease is incurable.* ” It might well  
 deemed so in his course of dissipation : But I



shall presently suggest one source at least of his supply much more constant and honourable than that of borrowing. But the condition of *Falstaff* as to opulence or poverty is not very material to my purpose : It is enough if his birth was distinguished, and his youth noted for gallantry and accomplishments. To the first I have spoken and as for the latter we shall not be at a loss when we remember that "*he was in his youth a page to Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolk ;*" a situation at that time sought for by young men of the best families and first fortune. The house of ever great noble was at that period a kind of Military school ; and it is probable that *Falstaff* was singularly adroit at his exercises : "*He broke Schoggan's head,*" (some boisterous fencer I suppose "*when he was but a crack thus high.*" *Shallow* remembers him *as notedly skilful at backward ;* and he was at that period, according to his own humorous account, "*scarcely an eagle's talon in the waist, and could have crept thro' an alderman's thumb ring.*" Even at the age at which he is exhibited

us, we find him *foundering*, as he calls it, *nine  
re and odd miles*, with wonderful expedition, to  
n the army of Prince John of Lancaster; and  
claring after the surrender of *Coleville*, that  
*had he but a belly of any indifferency he were simply  
he most active fellow in Europe.*" Nor ought we  
re to pass over his Knighthood without notice.  
was, I grant, intended by the author as a dig-  
y which, like his Courage and his wit, was to  
debased ; his knighthood by low situations,  
 Courage by circumstances and imputations  
cowardice, and his wit by buffoonery. But  
ware we to suppose this honour was acquired ?  
that very Courage, it should seem, which we  
obstinately deny him. It was not certainly given  
n, like a modern City Knighthood, for his wealth  
gravity : It was in these days a Military ho-  
ur, and an authentic badge of Military merit.

But *Falstaff* was not only a Military Knight,  
possess'd an honourable *pension* into the  
gain ; the reward as well as retainer of  
vice, and which seems (besides the favours per-

haps of Mrs. *Urfula*) to be the principal and solid support of his present expences. But let refer to the passage. "*A pox of this gout, or a* "*of this pox; for one or the other plays the rogue u* "*my great toe: It is no matter if I do halt, I have* "*wars for my colour and my pension shall seem the n* "*reasonable.*" The mention *Falstaff* here ma of a pension, has I believe been generally cstrued to refer rather to *hope* than *possession*, y know not why: For the possessive *my*, *my pen* (not a pension) requires a different constructi Is it that we cannot enjoy a wit, till we ha stripped him of every worldly advantage, and reced him below the level of our envy? It may perhaps for this reason among others that *Shakespeare* has so obscured the better parts of *Fal* and stolen them secretly on our feelings, inst of opening them fairly to the notice of our nderstandings. How carelessly, and thro' w bye-paths, as it were, of casual inference is t fact of a pension introduced! And how has associated it with misfortune and infirmity!

I quest

I question, however, if, in this one place the *Impression* which was intended, be well and effectually made. It must be left to the reader to determine if in that mass of things out of which *Falstaff* is compounded, he ever considered a pension as any part of the composition : A pension however he appears to have had, one that halting could only seem to make more reasonable, not more honourable. The inference arising from the fact, I shall leave to the reader. It is surely a circumstance highly advantageous to *Falstaff*, (I speak of the pensions of former days) whether he be considered in the light of a foldier or a gentleman.

I cannot foresee the temper of the reader, nor whether he be content to go along with me in these kind of observations. Some of the incidents which I have drawn out of the Play may appear too minute, whilst yet they refer to principles, which may seem too general. Many points require explanation; something should be said of the nature of *Shakespeare's* Dramatic cha-

acters; \* by what arts they were formed, and wherein they differ from those of other writers: something likewise more professedly of *Shakespeare*

\* The reader must be sensible of something in the composition of *Shakespeare's* characters, which renders them essentially different from those drawn by other writers. The characters of every Drama must indeed be grouped; but in the groupings of other poets the parts which are not seen, do not in fact exist. But there is a certain roundness and integrity in the forms of *Shakespeare*, which give them an independence well as a relation, inasmuch that we often meet with passages, which tho' perfectly felt, cannot be sufficiently explained in words, without unfolding the whole character of the speaker: And this I may be obliged to do in respect to that of *Lancaster*, in order to account for some words spoken by him in censuring of *Falstaff*.—Something which may be thought too heavy for the *text*, I shall add *here*, as a conjecture concerning the composition of *Shakespeare's* characters: Not that they were the effect, I believe, so much of a minute and laborious attention, as of a certain comprehensive energy of mind, involving within itself all the effect of system and of labour.

*Shakespeare* himself, and of the peculiar character of his genius. After such a review we may not perhaps think any consideration arising out of the

Bodies of all kinds, whether of metals, plants, or animals, are supposed to possess certain first principles of *being*, and to have an existence independent of the accidents, which form their magnitude or growth: Those accidents are supposed to be drawn in from the surrounding elements, but not indiscriminately; each plant and each animal, imbibes those things only, which are proper to its own distinct nature, and which have besides such a secret relation to each other as to be capable of forming a perfect union and coalescence: But so variously are the surrounding elements mingled and disposed, that each particular body, even of those under the same species, has yet some *peculiar* of its own. *Shakespeare* appears to have considered the being and growth of the human mind as analogous to this system: There are certain qualities and capacities, which he seems to have considered as first principles; the chief of which are certain energies of courage and activity, according to their degrees together with different degrees and sorts of sensibilities and a capacity, varying likewise in the *degree*, of discernment and intelligence. The rest of the composition

the Play, or out of general nature, either as too minute or too extensive.

*Shakespeare* is in truth, an author whose mimic creation agrees in general so perfectly with the

c

tion is drawn in from an atmosphere of surrounding things; that is, from the various influences of the different laws, religions and governments in the world; and from those of the different ranks and inequalities in society; and from the different professions of men, or couraging or repressing passions of particular sorts, and inducing different modes of thinking and habits of life and he seems to have known intuitively what those influences in particular were which this or that original constitution would most freely imbibe, and which would most easily associate and coalesce. But all these things being, in different situations, very differently disposed, and those differences exactly discerned by him, he found no difficulty in marking every individual, even among characters of the same sort, with something peculiar and distinct.—Climate and complexion demand their influence, "*Be thus when thou art dead, and I will kill thee, and love thee after,*" is a sentiment characteristic of, and fit only to be uttered by a *Moor*.

But

of nature, that it is not only wonderful in the great, but opens another scene of amazement to the discoveries of the microscope. We have been charged indeed by a Foreign writer with an overmuch admiring of this *Barbarian*: Whether we have admired

But it was not enough for *Shakespeare* to have formed his characters with the most perfect truth and coherence; it was further necessary that he should possess a wonderful facility of compressing, as it were, his own spirit into these images, and of giving alternate animation to the forms. This was not to be done *from without*; he must have *felt* every varied situation, and have spoken thro' the organ he had formed. Such an intuitive comprehension of things and such a facility, must unite to produce a *Shakespeare*. The reader will not now be surprised if I affirm that those characters in *Shakespeare*, which are seen only in part, are yet capable of being unfolded and understood in the whole; every part being in fact relative, and inferring all the rest. It is true that the point of action or sentiment, which we are most concerned in, is always held out for our special notice. But who does not perceive that there is a peculiarity about it, which conveys a relish of the whole? And very frequently,  
when



admired with knowledge, or have blindly followed those feelings of affection which we could not resist, I cannot tell; but certain it is, that to the labours of his Editors he has not been over-much obliged. They are however for the most part of the first rank in literary fame; but some

O

when no particular point presses, he boldly makes a character act and speak from those parts of the composition, which are *inferred* only, and not distinctly shewn. This produces a wonderful effect; it seems to carry us beyond the poet to nature itself, and gives an integrity and truth to facts and character, which they could not otherwise obtain: And this is in reality that art in *Shakespeare*, which being withdrawn from our notice, we more emphatically call *nature*. A felt propriety and truth from causes unseen, I take to be the highest point of Poetic composition. If the characters of *Shakespeare* are thus *whole*, and as it were original, while those of almost all other writers are mere imitation, it may be fit to consider them rather as Historic than Dramatic beings; and, when occasion requires, to account for their conduct from the *whole* of character, from general principles, from latent motives, and from policies not avowed.

of them had possessions of their own in Parnassus, of an extent too great and important to allow of a very diligent attention to the interests of others; and among those Critics more professionally so, the ablest and the best has unfortunately looked more to the praise of ingenious than of just conjecture. The character of his emendations are not so much that of *right* or *wrong*, as that, being in the extreme, they are always *Warburtonian*. Another has since undertaken the custody of our author, whom he seems to consider as a sort of wild Proteus or madman, and accordingly knocks him down with the butt-end of his critical staff, as often as he exceeds that line of sober discretion, which this learned Editor appears to have chalked out for him: Yet is this Editor notwithstanding "a man take him for all in all," very highly respectable for his genius and his learning. What however may be chiefly complained of in these gentlemen is, that having erected themselves into the condition, as it were, of guardians and trustees

trustees of *Shakespeare*, they have never undertaken to discharge the disgraceful incumbrances of some wretched productions, which have long hung heavy on his fame. Besides the evidence of taste, which indeed is not communicable, there are yet other and more general proofs that these incumbrances were not incurred by *Shakespeare*: The *Latin* sentences dispersed thro' the imputed trash is, I think, of itself a decisive one. *Love's Labour lost* contains a very conclusive one of another kind; tho' the very last Editor has, I believe, in his critical sagacity, suppressed the evidence, and withdrawn the record.

Yet whatever may be the neglect of some, or the censure of others, there are those, who firmly believe that this wild, this uncultivated Barbarian, has not yet obtained one half of his fame; and who trust that some new Stagyrite will arise, who instead of pecking at the surface of things will enter into the inward soul of his compositions, and expel by the force of congenial feelings

feelings, those foreign impurities which have stained and disgraced his page. And as to those *spots* which will still remain, they may perhaps become invisible to those who shall seek them thro' the medium of his beauties, instead of looking for those beauties, as is too frequently done, thro' the smoke of some real or imputed obscurity. When the hand of time shall have brushed off his present Editors and Commentators, and when the very name of *Voltaire*, and even the memory of the language in which he has written, shall be no more, the *Apalachian* mountains, the banks of the *Ohio*, and the plains of *Sciota* shall resound with the accents of this Barbarian : In his native tongue he shall roll the genuine passions of nature ; nor shall the griefs of *Lear* be alleviated, or the charms and wit of *Rosalind* be abated by time. There is indeed nothing perishable about him, except that very learning which he is said so much to want. He had not, it is true, enough for the demands of the age in which he lived, but he had perhaps too much for the reach

of his genius, and the interest of his fame. *Milton* and he will carry the decayed remnants and fripperies of antient mythology into more distant ages than they are by their own force intitled to extend ; and the metamorphoses of *Ovid*, upheld by them, lay in a new claim to unmerited immortality.

*Shakespeare* is a name so interesting, that it is excusable to stop a moment, nay it would be indecent to pass him without the tribute of some admiration. He differs essentially from all other writers : Him we may profess rather to feel than to understand ; and it is safer to say, on many occasions, that we are possessed by him, than that we possess him. And no wonder ;—He scatters the seeds of things, the principles of character and action, with so cunning a hand yet with so careless an air, and, master of our feelings, submits himself so little to our judgment, that every thing seems superior. We discern not his course, we see no connection of cause and effect,

fect, we are rapt in ignorant admiration, and claim no kindred with his abilities. All the incidents, all the parts, look like chance, whilst we feel and are sensible that the whole is design. His Characters not only act and speak in strict conformity to nature, but in strict relation to us ; just so much is shewn as is requisite, just so much is impressed ; he commands every passage to our heads and to our hearts, and moulds us as he pleases, and that with so much ease, that he never betrays his own exertions. We see these Characters act from the mingled motives of passion, reason, interest, habit and complection, in all their proportions, when they are supposed to know it not themselves ; and we are made to acknowledge that their actions and sentiments are, from those motives, the necessary result. He at once blends and distinguishes every thing ;—every thing is complicated, every thing is plain. I restrain the further expressions of my admiration lest they should not seem applicable

to man; but it is really astonishing that a mere human being, a part of humanity only, should so perfectly comprehend the whole; and that he should possess such exquisite art, that whilst every woman and every child shall feel the whole effect, his learned Editors and Commentators should yet so very frequently mistake or seem ignorant of the cause. A sceptre or a straw are in his hands of equal efficacy; he needs no selection; he converts every thing into excellence; nothing is too great, nothing is too base. Is a character efficient like *Richard*, it is every thing we can wish: Is it otherwise, like *Hamlet*, it is productive of equal admiration: Action produces one mode of excellence and inaction another: The Chronicle, the Novel, or the Ballad; the king, or the beggar, the hero, the madman, the sot or the fool; it is all one;—nothing is worse, nothing is better: The same genius pervades and is equally admirable in all. Or, is a character to be shewn in progressive change, and the events  
of

of years comprized within the hour ;—with what a Magic hand does he prepare and scatter his spells ! The Understanding must, in the first place, be subdued ; and lo ! how the rooted prejudices of the child spring up to confound the man ! The Weird sisters rise, and order is extinguished. The laws of nature give way, and leave nothing in our minds but wildness and horror. No pause is allowed us for reflection : Horrid sentiment, furious guilt and compunction, air-drawn daggers, murders, ghosts, and enchantment, shake and *possess us wholly*. In the mean time the *process* is completed. *Macbeth* changes under our eye, *the milk of human kindness is converted to gall ; he has supped full of horrors, and his May of life is fallen into the fear, the yellow leaf ;* whilst we, the fools of amazement, are insensible to the shifting of place and the lapse of time, and till the curtain drops, never once wake to the truth of things, or recognize the laws of existence.—On such an occasion, a fellow, like *Rymer*,



waking from his trance, shall lift up his Constable's staff, and charge this great Magician this daring *practicer of arts inhibited*, in the name of *Aristotle*, to surrender; whilst *Aristotle* himself, disowning his wretched Officer, would fall prostrate at his feet and acknowledge his supremacy.—O supreme of Dramatic excellence! (*might he say*,) not to me be imputed the insolence of fools. The bards of *Greece* were confined within the narrow circle of the Chorus and hence they found themselves constrained to practice, for the most part, the precision, and copy the details of nature. I followed then and knew not that a larger circle might be drawn, and the Drama extended to the whole reach of human genius. Convinced, I see that a more compendious *nature* may be obtained—a nature of *effects* only, to which neither the relations of place, or continuity of time, are always essential. Nature, condescending to the faculties and apprehensions of man, has drawn  
through

through human life a regular chain of visible causes and effects: But Poetry delights in surprise, conceals her steps, seizes at once upon the heart, and obtains the Sublime of things without betraying the rounds of her ascent: True Poesy is *magic*, not *nature*; an effect from causes hidden or unknown. To the Magician I prescribed no laws; his law and his power are one; his power is his law. Him, who neither imitates, nor is within the reach of imitation, no precedent can or ought to bind, no limits to contain. If his end is obtained, who shall question his course? Means, whether apparent or hidden, are justified in Poesy by success; but then most perfect and most admirable when most concealed\*.—But

F 4

whither

\* These observations have brought me so near to the regions of Poetic *magic*, (using the word here in its strict and proper sense, and not loosely as in the *text*) that tho' they lie not directly in my course, I yet may

whither am I going! This copious and delightful topic has drawn me far beyond my design: I hasten back to my subject, and am guarded, for a time at least, against any further temptation to digress.

I will

be allowed in this place to point the reader that what we call a felt propriety, or truth of art, from an unseen, though supposed adequate cause, we call *nature*. A like feeling of propriety and truth, supposed without a cause or as seeming to be derived from causes inadequate, fantastic, and absurd,—such as wands, circles, incantations, and so forth,—we call by the general name *magic*, including all the train of superstition, witchcraft, ghosts, fairies, and the rest.—*Reason* is confined to the line of visible existence; our *passions* and our *fancies* extend far beyond into the *obscure*; but however lawless their operations may seem, the images they wildly form have yet a relation to truth, and are the shadows at least, however fantastic, of *reality*. I am not investigating but passing this subject, and must therefore leave behind me much curious speculation. Of Personifications however we should observe that those which are made out of abstract ideas are the creatures of the Understanding only: Thus, of the  
 mixe

I was considering the dignity of *Falstaff* so far as it might seem connected with, or productive of military merit, and I have assigned him *reputation* at least, if not *fame*, noble connection, birth, attendants, title, and an honourable

mixed modes, virtue, beauty, wisdom and others,—what are they but very obscure ideas of *qualities* considered as abstracted from any *subject* whatever? The mind cannot steadily contemplate such an abstraction: What then does it do?—Invent or imagine a subject in order to support these qualities; and hence we get the Nymphs or Goddesses of virtue, of beauty, or of wisdom; the very obscurity of the ideas being the cause of their conversion into sensible objects, with precision both of feature and of form. But as reason has its personifications, so has *passion*.—Every passion has its Object, tho' often distant and obscure;—to be brought nearer then, and rendered more distinct, it is personified; and Fancy fantastically decks, or aggravates the *form*, and adds “a local habitation and a name.” But passion is the *dupe* of its own artifice and *realises* the image it had formed. The Grecian theology was mixed of both these kinds of personification. Of the images produced by passion it must be observed that they are the

nourable pension ; every one of them presu-  
 tive proofs of Military merit, and motives  
 action. What deduction is to be made  
 these articles, and why they are so much  
 secured may, perhaps, hereafter appear.

I h

the images, for the most part, not of the past  
 themselves, but of their remote effects. *Guilt* is  
 through the medium, and beholds a devil; *fear*,  
 tress of every sort; *hope*, a smiling cherub; *malice*  
*envy* see hags, and witches, and inchanters ;  
 whilst the innocent and the young, behold with  
 ful delight the tripping fairy, whose shadowy form  
 moon gilds with its softest beams.—Extravagan-  
 all this appears, it has its laws so precise that  
 are sensible both of a local and temporary, and o  
 universal magic ; the first derived from the general  
 ture of the human mind, influenced by particular ha-  
 bitations, and elimate ; and the latter from the  
 general nature abstracted from those considerations  
 Of the first sort the *machinery* in *Macbeth* is a  
 striking instance ; a machinery, which, however co-  
 site at the time, has already lost more than hal  
 force ; and the Gallery now laughs in some p  
 where it ought to shudder :—But the magic of  
*Tempest* is lasting and universal.

I have now gone through the examination of all the persons of the Drama from whose mouths any thing can be drawn relative to the Courage of *Falstaff*, excepting the *Prince* and *Poins*, whose evidence I have begged leave to *reserve*,  
and

There is besides a species of writing for which we have no term of art, and which holds a middle place between nature and magic ; I mean where fancy either alone, or mingled with reason, or reason assuming the appearance of fancy, governs some real existence ; but the whole of this art is portrayed in a single Play ; in the real madness of *Lear*, in the assumed wildness of *Edgar*, and in the Professional *Fantafque* of the *Fool*, all operating to contrast and heighten each other. There is yet another feat in this kind, which *Shakespeare* has performed ;—he has personified *malice* in his *Caliban* ; a character kneaded up of three distinct natures, the diabolical, the human, and the brute. The rest of his preternatural beings are images of *effects* only, and cannot subsist but in a surrounding atmosphere of those passions, from which they are derived. *Caliban* is the passion itself, or rather a compound of malice, servility, and lust, *substantiated* ; and therefore best shewn in contrast with the lightness of  
*Ariel*

and excepting a very severe censure passed him by Lord *John of Lancaster*, which I presently consider: But I must first observe that setting aside the jests of the *Prince* and *P* and this censure of *Lancaster*, there is not  
 expres

*Ariel* and the innocence of *Miranda*.—*Witches* sometimes substantial existences, supposed to be possible, or allyed to the unsubstantial; but the *Witches* in *Macbeth* are a gross sort of shadows, “bubbles of earth,” as they are finely called by *Banquo*.—*Ghosts* differ from other imaginary beings in this, that they belong to no element, have no specific nature or character, and are effects, however harsh the expression, supposed without a cause; the reason of which is that they are not the creation of the poet, but the mere copies or transcripts of popular imagination, connected with supposed reality and religion. Should the poet assign the true cause, and call them the mere passing or *coinage of the brain*, he would disappoint his own end, and destroy the being he had raised. Should he assign fictitious causes, and add a specific nature, and a local habitation, it would not be endured; or the effect would be lost by the conversion of one being into another. The approach to reality in this case  
 dese

expression uttered by any character in the Drama that can be construed into any impeachment of *Falstaff's* Courage ;—an observation made before as respecting some of the Witnesses ;—it is now extended to all : And though this silence be a negative proof only, it cannot, in my opinion, under the circumstances of the case, and whilst uncontradicted by facts, be too much relied on. ✓ If *Falstaff* had been intended for the character of a *Miles Gloriosus*, his behaviour ought, and therefore would have been commented upon by others. *Shakespeare* seldom trusts to the apprehensions of his audience ; his characters interpret for one another continually, and when we least suspect such artful and secret management

defeats all the arts and managements of fiction.—The whole play of the *Tempest* is of so high and superior a nature that *Dryden*, who had attempted to imitate in vain, might well exclaim that

“ —*Shakespeare's magic* could not copied be,  
 “ Within that circle none durst walk but He.”



management: The conduct of *Shakespeare* in this respect is admirable, and I could point out a thousand passages which might put to shame the advocates of a formal Chorus, and prove that there is as little of necessity as grace in so mechanic a contrivance\*. But I confine my censure of the Chorus to its supposed use of comment and interpretation only.

*Falstaff* is, indeed, so far from appearing to my eye in the light of a *Miles Gloriosus*, that in the best of my taste and judgment, he does not discover, except in consequence of the robbery, the least *trait* of such a character. ✓ All his boasting speeches are humour, mere humour, and carefully spoken to persons who cannot misapprehend them, who cannot be imposed on: They contain indeed, for the most part, an unreasonable and imprudent ridicule  
of

\* *Ænobarbus*, in *Anthony and Cleopatra*, is in effect the Chorus of the Play; as *Menenius Agrippa* is of *Coriolanus*.

of himself, the usual subject of his good humoured merriment; but in the company of ignorant people, such as the Justices, or his own followers, he is remarkably reserved, and does not hazard any thing, even in the way of humour, that may be subject to mistake: Indeed he no where seems to suspect that his character is open to censure on this side, or that he needs the arts of imposition.—*✓* *Turk Gregory* "*never did such deeds in arms as I have done this day,*" is spoken, whilst he breathes from action, to the Princee in a tone of jolly humour, and contains nothing but a light ridicule of his own inactivity: *✓* This is as far from real boasting as his saying before the battle, "*Wou'd it were bed-time, Hal, and all were well,*" is from meanness or depression. This articulated wish is not the fearful outcry of a *Coward*, but the frank and honest breathing of a *generous fellow*, who does not expect to be seriously reproached with the character. Instead indeed, of deserving the name of a vain glorious *Coward*, his modesty

modesty perhaps on this head, and whimsical ridicule of himself, have been a principal source of the imputation.

But to come to the very serious reproach thrown upon him by that *cold blooded* boy, as he calls him, *Lancaster*.—*Lancaster* makes solemn treaty of peace with the *Archbishop of York*, *Mowbray*, &c. upon the faith of which they disperse their troops; which is no sooner done than *Lancaster* arrests the Principals, and pursues the *scattered stray*: A transaction, by the bye, so singularly perfidious, that I wish *Shakespeare*, for his own credit, had not suffered it to pass under his pen without marking it with the blackest strokes of Infamy.—During this transaction, *Falstaff* arrives, joins in the pursuit, and takes Sir *John Coleville* prisoner. Upon being seen by *Lancaster* he is thus addressed :—

“ *Now*

*Now Falstaff, where have you been all this while ?  
 When every thing is over then you come :  
 These tardy tricks of yours will, on my life,  
 One time or other break some gallows' back."*

This may appear to many a very formidable passage. It is spoken, as we may say, in the hearing of the army, and by one intitled to it were by his station to decide on military conduct ; and if no punishment immediately follows, the forbearance may be imputed to regard for the Prince of Wales, whose favour the delinquent was known so unworthily to possess. But this reasoning will by no means apply to the real circumstances of the case. The effect of this passage will depend on the credit we shall be inclined to give to *Lancaster's* integrity and candour, and still more upon the facts which are the ground of this censure, and which are fairly offered by *Shakespeare* to our notice.

We will examine the evidence arising from both; and to this end we must in the first place a little unfold the character of this young Commander in chief;—from a review of which we may more clearly discern the general impulse and secret motives of his conduct: And this is a proceeding which I think the peculiar character of *Shakespeare's* Drama will very well justify.

We are already well prepared what to think of this youngman:—We have just seen a very pretty manœuvre of his in a matter of the highest moment, and have therefore the less reason to be surprized if we find him practising a more petty fraud with suitable skill and address. He appears in truth to have been what *Falstaff* call him, *a cold reserved sober-blooded boy*; a politician as it should seem, by nature; bred up moreover in the school of *Bolingbroke* his father, and tutored to betray: With sufficient courage and ability perhaps, but with too much of the knave.

knave in his composition, and too little of enthusiasm, ever to be a great and superior character. That such a youth as this should, even from the propensities of character alone, take any plausible occasion to injure a frank unguarded man of wit and pleasure, will not appear unnatural. But he had other inducements. *Falstaff* had given very general scandal by his distinguished wit and noted poverty, inasmuch that a little cruelty and injustice towards him was likely to pass, in the eye of the grave and prudent part of mankind, as a very creditable piece of fraud, and to be accounted to *Lancaster* for virtue and good service. But *Lancaster* had motives yet more prevailing; *Falstaff* was a Favourite, without the power which belongs to that character; and the tone of the Court was strongly against him, as the misleader and corrupter of the Prince; who was now at too great a distance to afford him immediate countenance and protection. A scratch then, between jest and earnest as it

were, something that would not too much offend the prince, yet would leave behind a disgraceful scar upon *Falstaff*, was very suitable to the temper and situation of parties and affairs. With these observations in our thought let us return to the passage : It is plainly intended for disgrace, but how artful, how cautious, how insidious is the manner ! It may pass for sheer pleasantry and humour : *Lancaster* assumes the familiar phrase and *girding* tone of *Harry* ; and the gallows, as he words it, appears to be in the most danger from an encounter with *Falstaff*.—With respect to the matter, 'tis a kind of *muching malicho* ; it means mischief indeed, but there is not precision enough in it to intitle it to the appellation of a formal charge, or to give to *Falstaff* any certain and determined ground of defence. *Tardy tricks* may mean, not Cowardice but neglect only, though the *manner* may seem to carry the imputation to both.—The reply of *Falstaff* is exactly suited to the qualities of the speech ;—for

*Falstaff*

*Falstaff* never wants ability but conduct only. He answers the general effect of this speech, by a feeling and serious complaint of injustice ; he then goes on to apply his defence to the vindication both of his diligence and courage ; but he deserts by degrees his serious tone, and taking the handle of pleasantry which *Lancaster* had held forth to him, he is prudently content, as being sensible of *Lancaster's* high rank and station, to let the whole pass off in buffoonery and humour. But the question is, however, not concerning the adroitness and management of either party : Our business is, after putting the credit of *Lancaster* out of the question, to discover what there may be of truth and of fact either in the charge of the one, or the defence of the other. From this only, we shall be able to draw our inferences with fairness and with candour. The charge against *Falstaff* is already in the possession of the reader : The defence follows.—



Fals. "*I would be sorry, my lord, but it shou  
 " be thus : I never knew yet but that rebuke a  
 " check were the reward of valour. Do you thi  
 " me a swallow, an arrow, or a bullet? Have  
 " in my poor and old motion the expedition  
 " thought? I speeded hither within the very  
 " remest inch of possibility. I have foundered ni  
 " score and odd posts, (deserting by degrees  
 " serious tone, for one of more address and  
 " vantage) and here travel-tainted as I am, have  
 " in my pure and immaculate valour taken Sir J  
 " Coleville of the dale, a most furious Knight a  
 " valourous enemy."*

*Falskaff's* answer then is, that he used all po  
 ble expedition to join the army; the  
 doing of which, with an implication of Co  
 ardice as the cause, is the utmost extent  
 the charge against him; and to take off t  
 implication he refers to the evidence of a f  
 present and manifest,—the surrender of *Colevi*  
 in whose hearing he speaks, and to wh  
 therefi

herefore he is supposed to appeal. Nothing then remains but that we should inquire if *Falstaff's* answer was really founded in truth ; *"I speeded hither, says he, within the extremeſt inch of poſſibility :"* If it be ſo, he is juſtified : But I am afraid, for we muſt not conceal any thing, that *Falstaff* was really detained too long by his debaucheries in London ; at leaſt, if we take the Chief Juſtice's words very ſtrictly.

"Ch. Juſt. *How now, Sir John ? What are you brawling here ? Doth this become your PLACE, your TIME, your BUSINESS ? You ſhould have been well on your way to York."*

Here then ſeems to be a delay worthy rhaps of rebuke ; and if we could ſuppoſe *incaſter* to mean nothing more by *tardy tricks* in idleneſs and debauch, I ſhould not poſſibly think myſelf much concerned to vindicate *ſtaff* from the charge ; but the words imply, my apprehenſion, a deſigned and deliberate

H 2                      G 4                      avoidance

avoidance of danger. Yet to the contrary this we are furnished with very full and complete evidence. *Falstaff*, the moment he quitted London, discovers the utmost eagerness and patience to join the army; he gives up gluttony, his mirth, and his ease. We see him take up in his passage some recruits at *Shallow* house; and tho' he has pecuniary views upon *Shallow*, no inducement stops him; he takes no refreshment, he cannot tarry dinner, he is off; "I will not," says he to the Justice, "use many words with you. Fare ye well Good men both; I thank ye, I must a dozen miles to night."—He misuses, it is true, at this time the King's Press damnably; but that does not concern me, at least not for the present; it belongs to other parts of his character.—It appears manifestly that *Shakespeare* meant to represent *Falstaff* as really using the utmost speed in power; he arrives almost literally *within the extremest inch of possibility*; and if *Lancaster* had not accelerated the event by a stroke of pen

much more subject to the imputation of Cowardice than the *Debauch* of *Falstaff*, he would have been time enough to have shared in the danger of a fair and honest decision. But great men have it seems a privilege; '*that in the General's but a choleric word, which in the Soldier were flat blasphemy.*' Yet after all, *Falstaff* did really come time enough, as it appears, to join in the villainous triumphs of the day, to take prisoner *Coleville of the dale, a most furious Knight and valorous enemy*.—Let us look to the fact. If this incident should be found to contain any striking proof of *Falstaff's* Courage and Military fame, his defence against *Lancaster* will be stronger than the reader has even a right to demand. *Falstaff* encounters *Coleville* in the field, and having demanded his name, is ready to assail him; but *Coleville* asks him if he is not Sir *John Falstaff*; thereby implying a purpose of surrender. *Falstaff* will not so much as furnish him with a pretence, and answers only,

only, that *he is as good a man*. "*Do you yield or shall I sweat for you ?*" *I think*, says Colev "*you are Sir John Falstaff, and in that thou yield me.*" This fact, and the incident with which it is accompanied, speak loudly it seems to have been contrived by the author on purpose to take off a rebuke so authoritatively made by *Lancaster*. The fact is before our eyes to confute the censure : *Lancaster* himself seems to give up his charge tho' not his ill will ; for upon *Falstaff's* asking leave to pass through Gloucestershire, and a fully desiring that, upon *Lancaster's* return Court, *he might stand well in his report*, *Lancaster* seems in his answer to mingle malice and acquittal. "*Fare ye well, Falstaff, I in condition shall better speak of you than you deserve.*" *I would*, says *Falstaff*, who is left behind in the scene, "*You had but wit ; 'twere better than your Dukedom.*" He continues on the stage some time chewing the cud of dishonour, which, with all his facilit

he cannot well swallow. "*Good faith*" says he, accounting to himself as well as he could for the injurious conduct of *Lancaster*; "*this sober-blooded boy does not love me.*" This he might well believe. "*A man*, says he, *cannot make him laugh; there's none of these demure boys come to any proof; but that's no marvel, they drink no sack.*"—*Falstaff* then it seems knew no drinker of sack who was a Coward; at least the instance was not home and familiar to him.—"*They all*, says he, *fall into a kind of Male green sickness, and are generally fools and Cowards.*" Anger has a privilege, and I think *Falstaff* has a right to turn the tables upon *Lancaster* if he can; but *Lancaster* was certainly no fool, and I think upon the whole, no Coward; yet the Male green sickness which *Falstaff* talks of, seems to have infected his manners and aspect, and taken from him all external indication of gallantry and courage. He behaves in the battle of Shrewsbury beyond the promise of his complexion and deportment:

"By

"By heaven thou hast deceived me Lancaster, sa Harry, "I did not think thee Lord of such spirit ! Nor was his father less surprized "at holding Lord Percy at the point with lustier maintenance than he did look for from such an unri warrior." But how well and unexpectedly forever he might have behaved upon that occasion, he does not seem to have been of temper to trust fortune too much or too often with his safety ; therefore it is that, in order to keep the event in his own hands, he loses the Die, in the present case, with villainy and deceit : The event however he piously ascribes like a wise and prudent youth as he is, without paying that worship to himself which he so justly merits, to the special favour and interposition of Heaven.

*"Strike up your drums, pursue the scattered strag*

*"Heaven, and not we, have safely fought to-day*

But the prophane *Falstaff*, on the contrary less informed and less studious of supernatural thing

things, imputes the whole of this conduct to thin potations, and the not drinking largely of good and excellent *sherris*; and so little doubt does he seem to entertain of the Cowardice and ill disposition of this youth, that he stands devising causes, and casting about for an hypothesis on which the whole may be physically explained and accounted for ;—but I shall leave him and Doctor *Cadogan* to settle that point as they may.

The only serious charge against *Falstaff's* Courage, we have now at large examined ; it came from great authority, from the Commander in chief, and was meant as chastisement and rebuke ; but it appears to have been founded in ill-will, in the particular character of *Lancaster*, and in the wantonness and insolence of power ; and the author has placed near, and under our notice, full and ample proofs of its injustice.—And thus the deeper we look into *Falstaff's* character, the stronger is our conviction that he was not intended



tended to be shewn as a Constitutional coward. Censure cannot lay sufficient hold on him,—an even malice turns away, and more than he pronounces his acquittal.

But as yet we have dealt principally in parol and circumstantial evidence, and have referred to *Fact* only incidentally. But *Facts* have much more operative influence: They may be produced, not as arguments only, but Records; not to dispute alone, but to decide.—It is time then to behold *Falstaff* in actual service as a soldier, in danger, and in battle. We have already displayed one fact in his defence against the censure of *Lancaster*; a fact extremely unequivocal and decisive. But the reader knows I have others, and doubtless go before me to the action at *Shrewsbury*. In the midst and in the heat of battle we see him come forwards;—what are his words? “*have led my Rag-o-muffians where they are peppered*” “*there's not three of my hundred and fifty left alive.*”

But

But to *whom* does he say this? To himself only; he speaks *in soliloquy*. There is no questioning the fact, *he had led them; they were peppered; there were not three left alive*. He was in luck, being in bulk equal to any two of them, to escape unhurt. Let the author answer for that, I have nothing to do with it: He was the Poetic maker of the whole *Corps*, and he might dispose of them as he pleased. Well might the Chief justice, as we now find, acknowledge *Falstaff's* services in this day's battle; an acknowledgment, which amply confirms the fact. A Modern officer, who had performed a feat of this kind, would expect, not only the praise of having done his duty, but the appellation of a hero. But poor *Falstaff* has too much wit to thrive: In spite of probability, in spite of inference, in spite of fact, he must be a Coward still. He happens unfortunately to have more Wit than Courage, and therefore we are maliciously determined that he shall have no Courage at all. But let us suppose that his modes of expression

fion, even *in soliloquy*, will admit of some abatement ;—how much shall we abate ? Say that he brought off *fifty* instead of *three* ; yet a Modern captain would be apt to look big after an action with two thirds of his men as it were, in his belly. Surely *Shakespeare* never meant to exhibit this man as a Constitutional coward ; if he did, his means were sadly destructive of his end. We see him, after he had expended his Rag-o-muffians, with sword and target in the midst of battle, in perfect possession of himself, and replete with humour and jocularly. He was, I presume, in some immediate personal danger, in danger also of a general defeat ; too corpulent for flight and to be led a prisoner was probably to be led to execution ; yet we see him laughing and easy, offering a bottle of sack to the Prince instead of a pistol, punning, and telling him, “ *there was that which would sack a city.* ”—“ *What is it a time,* (says the Prince) *to jest and dally now ?* ” No, a sober character would

would not jest on such an occasion, but a Coward could not; he would neither have the inclination, or the power. And what could support *Falstaff* in such a situation? Not principle; he is not suspected of the Point of honour; he seems indeed fairly to renounce it. " *Honour cannot set a leg or an arm; it has no skill in surgery:—What is it? a word only; meer air. It is insensible to the dead; and detraction will not let it live with the living.*" What then, but a strong natural constitutional Courage, which nothing could extinguish or dismay?—In the following passages the true character of *Falstaff* as to Courage and Principle is finely touched, and the different colours at once nicely blended and distinguished. "*If Percy be alive, I'll pierce him. If he do come in my way, so:—If he do not, if I come in his willingly, let him make a Carbonado of me. I like not such grinning honour as Sir Walter hath; give me life; which, if I can save, so; if not, honour comes unlook'd for, and there's an end.*" One cannot say which pre-

vails most here, profligacy or courage; they are both tinged alike by the same humour and mingled in one common mass; yet when we consider the superior force of *Percy*, as we must presently also that of *Douglas*, we shall be apt, I believe, in our secret heart, to forgive him. These passages are spoken in soliloquy and in battle: If every soliloquy made under similar circumstances were as audible as *Falstaff's*, the imputation might perhaps be found too general for censure. These are among the passages that have impressed on the world an idea of Cowardice in *Falstaff*;—yet why? He is resolute to take his fate: If *Percy* do come in his way, *so*;—if not, he will not seek inevitable destruction; he is willing to save his life, but if that cannot be, why,—“honour comes unlook'd for, and there's an end.” This surely is not the language of Cowardice: It contains neither the Bounce or Whine of the character; he derides, it is true, and seems to renounce that grinning idol of Military zealots, *Honour*. But

*Falstaff*

*Falstaff* was a kind of Military free-thinker, and has accordingly incurred the obloquy of his condition. He stands upon the ground of natural Courage only and common sense, and has, it seems, too much wit for a hero.—But let me be well understood;—I do not justify *Falstaff* for renouncing the point of honour; it proceeded doubtless from a general relaxation of mind, and profligacy of temper. Honour is calculated to aid and strengthen natural courage, and lift it up to heroism; but natural courage, which can act as such without honour, is natural courage still; the very quality I wish to maintain to *Falstaff*. And if, without the aid of honour, he can act with firmness, his portion is only the more eminent and distinguished. In such a character, it is to his actions, not his sentiments, that we are to look for conviction. But it may be still further urged in behalf of *Falstaff*, that there may be false honour as well as false religion. It is true; yet even in that case, candour obliges

me to confess, that the best men are most disposed to conform, and most likely to become the dupes of their own virtue. But may however be more reasonably urged, that there are particular tenets both in honour and religion, which it is the grossness of folly not to question. To seek out, to court assured destruction, without leaving a single benefit behind, may be well reckoned in the number. And this is precisely the very folly which *Falstaff* seems to abjure;—nor are we, perhaps intitled to say more, in the way of censure than that he had not virtue enough to become the dupe of honour, nor prudence enough to hold his tongue. I am willing however, if the reader pleases, to compound the matter, and acknowledge, on my part, that *Falstaff* was in all respects the *old soldier* that he had put himself under the sober discipline of discretion, and renounced, in a great degree at least, what he might call, the Vanities and Superstitions of honour; if the reader

ll, on his part, admit that this might well  
 , without his renouncing, at the same time,  
 e natural firmness and resolution he was  
 orn to.

But there is a formidable objection behind.  
*Falstaff* counterfeits basely on being attacked

*Douglas*; he assumes, in a cowardly spirit,  
 e appearance of death to avoid the reality.

it there was no equality of force; not the  
 st chance for victory, or life. And is it

e duty then, *think we still*, of true Courage,  
 meet, without benefit to society, *certain death*?

is it only the phantasy of honour?—But  
 ch a fiction is highly disgraceful;—true,

d a man of nice honour might perhaps  
 ve *grinned* for it. But we must remember

at *Falstaff* had a double character; he was  
*wit* as well as a *soldier*; and his Courage,

wever eminent, was but the *accessary*; his  
 t was the *principal*; and the part, which,

they should come in competition, he had the  
 greatest



greatest interest in maintaining. Vain indeed the licentiousness of his principles, if he should seek death like a bigot, yet without the loss of honour; when he might live by wit, and increase the reputation of that wit by labour. But why do I labour this point? It has already been anticipated, and our improved acquaintance with *Falstaff* will now require more than a short narrative of the fact.

Whilst in the battle of Shrewsbury exhorting and encouraging the Prince who was engaged with the *Spirit Percy*—"Well said to him *Hal*,"—he is himself attacked by the *Douglas*. There was no match; nothing remained but death or stratagem; grinning in death, or laughing life. But an expensive offer, a mirthful one,—Take your choice, *Falstaff*, a point of honour, or a point of drollery.—It could not be a question. *Falstaff* falls, *Douglas* is cheated, and the King laughs. But does he fall like a Cov

No, like a buffoon only; the superior principle prevails, and *Falstaff* lives by a stratagem growing out of his character, to prove himself *no counterfeit*, to jest, to be employed, and to fight again. That *Falstaff* valued himself, and expected to be valued by others, upon this piece of saving wit is plain. It was a stratagem, it is true; it argued presence of mind; but it was moreover, what he most liked, a very laughable joke; and as such he considers it; for he continues to counterfeit after the danger is over, that he may also deceive the Prince, and improve the event into more laughter. He might, for ought that appears, have concealed the transaction; the Prince was too earnestly engaged for observation; he might have formed a thousand excuses for his fall; but he lies still and listens to the pronouncing of his epitaph by the Prince with all the waggish glee and levity of his character. The circumstance of his wounding *Percy* in the thigh, and carrying

1 2

the

the dead body on his back like luggage, is *indeed* but not cowardly. The declaring, though jest, that he killed *Percy*, seems to me *idle*, but it is not meant or calculated for *imposition*; it is spoken to the *Prince himself*, the man in that world who could not be, or be supposed to be imposed on. But we must hear, whether to that purpose or not, what it is that *Harry* has to say over the remains of his old friend.

*P. Hen.* What old acquaintance ! could I  
all this flesh

Keep in a little life ? Poor *Jack* farewell !  
I could have better spared a better man.  
Oh ! I shou'd have a heavy misf of thee,  
If I were much in love with vanity.  
Death hath not struck so fat a *deer* to-day,  
Tho' many a *dearer* in this bloody fray ;  
Imbowelled will I see thee by and by ;  
Till then, in blood by noble *Percy* lye.

This is wonderfully proper for the occasion; it is affectionate, it is pathetic, yet it remembers his vanities, and, with a faint gleam of recollected mirth, even his plumpness and corpulency; but it is a pleasantry softened and rendered even vapid by tenderness, and it goes off in the sickly effort of a miserable pun\*.—But to our immediate purpose,—why is not his Cowardice remembered too? what no surprize that *Falstaff* should

\* The censure commonly passed on *Shakespeare's puns*, is, I think, not well founded. I remember but very few, which are undoubtedly his, that may not be justified; and if so, a greater instance cannot be given of the art which he so peculiarly possessed of converting base things into excellence.

“For if the Jew do cut but deep enough,  
 “I’ll pay the forfeiture *with all my heart*.”

A play upon words is the most that can be expected from one who affects gaiety under the pressure of severe misfortunes; but so imperfect, so broken a gleam,  
 can

should lye by the side of the noble *Percy* in the bed of honour ! No reflection that flight, though unfettered by disease, could not avail ; that he could not find a subterfuge from death ? Should his corpulency and his vanities be recorded and his more characteristic quality of Cowardice even in the moment that it particularly demands notice and reflection, be forgotten ? If by sparing a better man be here meant a *better soldier* there is no doubt but there were better Soldiers in the army, more active, more young, more principled, more knowing ; but none, it seems taken for all in all, more acceptable. The comparative *better* used here leaves to *Halstaff* the praise at least of *good* ; and to be a good soldier

can only serve more plainly to disclose the gloom and darkness of the mind ; it is an effort of fortitude, which failing in its operation, becomes the truest, because the most unaffected *pathos* ; and a skilful actor, well managing his tone and action, might with this miserable pun, sweep a whole audience suddenly in tears.

is to be a great way from Coward. But *Falstaff's* goodness, in this sort, appears to have been not only enough to redeem him from disgrace, but to mark him with reputation ; if I was to add with *eminence* and *distinction*, the funeral honours, which are intended for his obsequies, and his being bid, till then, *to lye in blood by the noble Percy*, would fairly bear me out.

Upon the whole of the passages yet before us, why may I not reasonably hope that the good natured reader, (and I write to no other) not offended at the levity of this exercise, may join with me in thinking that the character of *Falstaff* as to valour, may be fairly and honestly summed up in the very words which he himself uses to *Harry* ; and which seem, as to this point, to be intended by *Shakespeare* as a *Compendium* of his character. “*What, says the Prince, a Coward Sir John Paunch !*” *Falstaff* replies, “*Indeed I am not John of Gaunt your grandfather, but yet*” “no Coward, *Hal.*”

The

The robbery at *Gadshill* comes now to be considered. But *here*, after such long argumentation, we may be allowed to breath a little.

I know not what Impression has been made on the reader; a good deal of evidence has been produced, and much more remains to be offered. But how many sorts of men are there who no evidence can persuade! How many, who ignorant of *Shakespeare*, or forgetful of the text, may as well read heathen Greek, or the laws of the land, as this unfortunate Commentary. How many, who proud and pedantic, hate novelty, and damn it without mercy under one compendious word, Paradox? How many more, who not deriving their opinions immediately from the sovereignty of reason, hold at the will of some superior lord, to whom accident or inclination has attached them, and who, true to their vassalage, are resolute not to surrender without express permission, their base and ill-gotten possessions. These, however habited, a

the mob of mankind, who hoot and holla, hiss or huzza, just as their various leaders may direct. I *challenge* the whole Pannel as not holding by free tenure, and therefore not competent to the purpose either of condemnation or acquittal. But to the men of very nice honour what shall be said? I speak not of your men of good service, but such as Mr. \* \* \* \* "Souls made of fire, and children of the sun." These gentlemen, I am sadly afraid, cannot in honour or prudence admit of any composition in the very nice article of Courage; *suspicion* is *disgrace*, and they cannot stay to parley with dishonour. The misfortune in cases of this kind, is, that it is not easy to obtain a fair and impartial Jury: When we censure others with an eye to our own applause, we are as seldom sparing of reproach, as inquisitive into circumstance; and bold is the man, who tenacious of justice, shall venture to weigh circumstances, or draw lines of distinction between Cowardice and any apparently similar or neighbour quality: As well may a lady.

virgin



virgin or matron, of immaculate honour, presume to pity or palliate the soft failing of for-  
 ungarded friend, and thereby confess, as it were  
 those sympathetic feelings which it behoves her  
 to conceal under the most contemptuous disdain  
 a disdain, always proportioned, I believe, to  
 certain consciousness which we must not explain  
 I am afraid that poor *Falstaff* has suffered not  
 little, and may yet suffer by this fastidiousness  
 temper. But though we may find these classes  
 of men rather unfavourable to our wishes, the  
 Ladies, one may hope, whose smiles are more  
 worth our ambition, may be found more propi-  
 tious; yet they too, through a generous con-  
 formity to the *brave*, are apt to take up the high  
 tone of honour. Heroism is an idea perfectly  
 conformable to the natural delicacy and ele-  
 vation of their minds. Should we be fortunate  
 enough therefore to redeem *Falstaff* from the in-  
 putations of Cowardice, yet plain Courage,  
 am afraid, will not serve the turn: Even the  
 heroes, I think, must be for the most part in the  
 blood

bloom of youth, or *just where youth ends, in manhood's freshest prime*; but to be "*Old, cold, and of intolerable entrails; to be fat and greasy; as poor as Job, and as slanderous as Satan*;"—Take him away, he merits not a fair trial; he is too offensive to be turned, too odious to be touched. I grant, indeed that the subject of our lecture is not without his infirmity; "*He cuts three inches on the ribs, he was short-winded,*" and his breath possibly not of the sweetest: "*He had the gout,*" or something worse, "*which played the rogue with his great toe.*"—But these considerations are not to the point; we shall conceal, as much as may be, these offences; our business is with his *heart* only, which, as we shall endeavour to demonstrate, lies in the right place, and is firm and sound, notwithstanding a few indications to the contrary.—As for you, *Mrs. MONTAGUE*, I am grieved to find that *you* have been involved in a Popular error; so much you must allow me to say;—for the rest, I bow to your genius and your virtues: You have given to the world

world a very elegant composition ; and I told your manners and your mind are yet impure, more elegant than your book. *Falsh* was too gross, too infirm, for your inspection but if you durst have looked nearer, you would not have found Cowardice in the number his infirmities.—We will try if we cannot deem him from this universal censure.—[the venal corporation of authors duck to the golden fool, let them shape their sordid quills to mercenary ends of unmerited praise, or of bad detraction ;—old Jack though deserted by prince though censured by an ungrateful world, a persecuted from age to age by Critic and Commentator, and though never rich enough hire one literary prostitute, shall find a Voluntary defender ; and that too at a time when the whole body of the *Nabobry* demands and requires defence ; whilst their ill-gotten and almost untold gold feels loose in their unassured grasp and whilst they are ready to shake off portions the enormous heap, that they may the more securely

securely clasp the remainder.—But not to digress without end,—to the candid, to the chearful, to the elegant reader we appeal; our exercise is much too light for the sour eye of strict severity; it professes amusement only, but we hope of a kind more rational than the History of Miss *Betsy*, eked out with the Story of Miss *Lucy*, and the Tale of Mr. *Twankum*: And so, in a leisure hour, and with the good natured reader, it may be hoped, to friend, we return, with an air as busy and important as if we were engaged in the grave office of measuring the *Pyramids*, or settling the antiquity of *Stonehenge*, to converse with this jovial, this fat, this roguish, this frail, but, I think, *not cowardly* companion.

Though the robbery at *Gads-Hill*, and the supposed Cowardice of *Falstaff* on that occasion, are next to be considered, yet I must previously declare, that I think the discussion of this matter to be *now* unessential to the

re-establishment of *Falstaff's* reputation as man of Courage. For suppose we shou grant, in form, that *Falstaff* was surpris with fear in this single instance, that he v off his guard, and even acted like a Cowar what will follow, but that *Falstaff*, like grea heroes, had his weak moment, and was i exempted from panic and surprize? If a single exception can destroy a general charact *Hester* was a *Coward*, and *Anthony* a *Poltro* But for these seeming contradictions of Cl racter we shall seldom be at a loss to count, if we carefully refer to circumstan and situation.—In the present instance, *Falst* had done an illegal act; the exertion was ov and he had unbent his mind in security. T spirit of enterprize, and the animating pr ciple of hope, were withdrawn:—In t situation, he is unexpectedly attacked; has no time to recall his thoughts, or be his mind to action. He is not now a ing in the Profession and in the Habits of  
Soldier

Soldier ; he is associated with known Cowards ; his assailants are vigorous, sudden, and bold ; he is conscious of guilt ; he has dangers to dread of every form, present and future ; prisons and gibbets, as well as sword and fire ; he is surrounded with darkness, and the Sheriff, the Hangman, and the whole *Posse Comitatus* may be at his heels :—Without a moment for reflection, is it wonderful that, under these circumstances, “ *he should run and roar, and carry his guts away with as much dexterity as possible ?* ”

But though I might well rest the question on this ground, yet as there remains many good topics of vindication ; and as I think a more minute inquiry into this matter will only bring out more evidence in support of *Falstaff*’s constitutional Courage, I will not decline the discussion. I beg permission therefore to state fully, as well as fairly, the

I 2

whole

whole of this obnoxious transaction, this unfortunate robbery at *Gads-Hill*.

In the scene wherein we become first acquainted with *Falstaff*, his character is opened in a manner worthy of *Shakespeare*: We see him in a green old age, mellow, frank, gay, and corpulent, loose, unprincipled, and luxurious a *Robber*, as he says, *by his vocation*; yet altogether so:—There was much, it seems, mirth and recreation in the case: “*The pe- abuses of the times*,” he wantonly and humourously tells the Prince “*want countenance; and he has to see resolution fobbed off, as it is, by the re- curb of old father antic, the law*.”—When he quits the scene, we are acquainted that he is only passing to the Tavern: “*Farewell*,” says he, with an air of careless jollity and gay content, “*You will find me in East-Cheap*.” “*Fa- well*,” says the Prince, “*thou latter spring- farewell, all hallowen summer*.” But though this is excellent for *Shakespeare’s* purposes,

find, as yet at least, no hint of *Falstaff's* Cowardice, no appearance of Braggadocio, or any preparation whatever for laughter under this head.—The instant *Falstaff* is withdrawn, *Poins* opens to the *Prince* his meditated scheme of a double robbery; and here then we may reasonably expect to be let into these parts of *Falstaff's* character.—We shall see.

*Poins.* Now my good sweet lord, ride with us to-morrow; I have a jest to execute that I cannot manage alone. *Falstaff*, *Bardolph*, *Peto*, and *Gadshill* shall rob those men that we have already waylaid; yourself and I will not be there; and when they have the booty, if you and I do not rob them, cut this head from off my shoulders."

This is giving strong surety for his words; perhaps he thought the case required it: But "how, says the *Prince*, shall we part with them in setting forth?" *Poins* is ready with his answer; he had matured the thought, and could solve



every difficulty :—" *They could set out before, after ; their horses might be tied in the wood ; they could change their visors ; and he had ready procured cases of buckram to inmask the outward garments.*" This was going far ; it was doing business in good earnest. But if we look into the Play we shall be better able to account for this activity ; we shall find that there was, at least as much malice as jest in *Poins's* intention. The rival situations of *Poins* and *Falstaff* had produced on both sides much jealousy and ill will, which occasionally appears, in *Shakespeare's* manner, by side light without confounding the main action ; and the little we see of this *Poins*, he appears to us an unamiable, if not a very brutish and low character.—But to pass this ;—the Prince now says, with a deliberate and wholesome caution, " *I doubt they will be too hard for us.*" *Poins's* reply is remarkable ; " *Well, for two of them, I know them to be as true bred Cowards as ever turned back ; and for the third, if he fights longer than*

"*sees cause, I will forswear arms.*" There is in this reply a great deal of management: There were *four* persons in all, as *Poins* well knew, and he had himself, but a little before, named them,—*Falstaff*, *Bardolph*, *Peto*, and *Gadshill*; but now he omits one of the number, which must be either *Falstaff*, as not subject to any imputation in point of Courage; and in that case *Peto* will be the *third*;—or, as I rather think, in order to diminish the force of the Prince's objection, he artfully drops *Gadshill*, who was then out of town, and might therefore be supposed to be less in the Prince's notice; and upon this supposition *Falstaff* will be the *third*, *who will not fight longer than he sees reason*. But on either supposition, what evidence is there of a pre-supposed Cowardice in *Falstaff*? On the contrary, what stronger evidence can we require that the Courage of *Falstaff* had to this hour, through various trials, stood wholly unimpeached, than that *Poins*, the ill-disposed *Poins*,

who ventures, for his own purposes, to steal, were, *one* of the *four* from the notice and memory of the Prince, and who shews him from worse motives, as skilfull in *diminishing* as *Falstaff* appears afterwards to be in *increasing* of numbers, than that this very *Poins* should not venture to put down *Falstaff* in the class of Cowards ; though the occasion so strongly required that he should be degraded. Were *Poins* dares do however in this sort, he says, “ *As to the third,*” for so he describes *Falstaff* (as if the name of this Veteran would have excited too strongly the ideas of Courage and resistance) “ *if he fights longer than he sees reason to*” “ *I will forswear arms.*” This is the old trick of cautious and artful malice : The turn of expression, or the tone of voice does not matter ; for as to the words themselves, simply considered, they might be now truly spoken of almost any man who ever lived, except the iron-headed hero of *Sweden*.—But *Poins* has ever adds something, which may appear more decided

decisive ; “ *The virtue of this jest will be, the “incomprehensible lyes which this fat rogue will tell when we meet at supper ; how thirsty at least he fought with ; and what wards, what blows, what extremities, he endured : And in the reproof of this lies the jest :* ”—Yes, and the malice too.—This prediction was unfortunately fulfilled, even beyond the letter of it ; a completion more incident, perhaps, to the predictions of malice than of affection. But we shall presently see how far either the prediction, or the event, will go to the impeachment of *Falstaff*’s Courage.—The Prince, who is never duped, comprehends the whole of *Poins*’s views. But let that pass.

In the next scene we behold all the parties at *Gads-Hill* in preparation for the robbery. Let us carefully examine if it contains any intimation of Cowardice in *Falstaff*. He is shewn under a very ridiculous vexation about his horse, which is hid from him ; but this is no-

thing to the purpose, or only proves that *staff* knew no terror equal to that of wall *eight yards of uneven ground*. But on occasion *Gadshill's* being asked concerning the number of the travellers, and having reported that there were eight or ten, *Falstaff* exclaims, "*Zounds will they not rob us !*" If he had said more seriously, "*I doubt they will be too hard for us*," he would then have only used the Prince's own words upon a less alarming occasion. This cannot need defence. But the Prince in his usual style of mirth, replies, "*Why Coward, Sir John Paunch !*" To this one we naturally expect from *Falstaff* some light answer ; but we are surprized with a very serious one ;—" *I am not indeed John of Gaunt's grandfather, but yet no Coward, Hal.*" This is singular : It contains, I think, the true character of *Falstaff* ; and it seems to be thrown out *here*, at a very critical conjuncture, as a caution to the audience not to take too seriously what was intended only (to use the Prince's

words,) "*as argument for a week, laughter for a month, and a good jest for ever after.*" The whole of *Falstaff's* past life could not, it should seem, furnish the Prince with a reply, and he is, therefore, obliged to draw upon the coming hope. "*Well, (says he, mysteriously,) let the event try;*" meaning the event of the concerted attack on *Falstaff*; an event so probable, that he might indeed venture to rely on it.—But the travellers approach: The Prince hastily proposes a division of strength; that he with *Poins* should take a station separate from the rest, so that if the travellers should escape one party, they might light on the other: *Falstaff* does not object, though he supposes the travellers to be eight or ten in number. We next see *Falstaff* attack these travellers with alacrity using the accustomed words of threat and terror;—they make no resistance, and he binds and robs them.

Hitherto I think there has not appeared the least *trait* either of boast or fear in *the staff*. But now comes on the concerted transaction, which has been the source of so much dishonour. *As they are sharing the booty, (the stage direction) the Prince and Poins set us, them, they all run away; and Falstaff after a brief or two runs away too, leaving the booty behind them.*—"Got with much ease!" says the Prince as an event beyond expectation, "Now mount rily to horse."—Poins adds, as they are going off, "*How the rogue roared!*" This observation afterwards remembered by the Prince, with urging the jest to *Falstaff*, says, doubtless with all the licence of exaggeration,—"*And you Falstaff carried your guts away as nimbly, with as quick dexterity, and roared for mercy, and still roared, and roared, as I ever heard bull-calf.*" If he did roar for mercy, it must have been a very inarticulate sort of roaring; for there is not a single word set down for *Falstaff* from which this roaring may be inferred, or any stage direction

rection to the actor for that purpose : But, in the spirit of mirth and derision, the lightest exclamation might be easily converted into the roar of a bull-calf.

We have now gone through this transaction considered simply on its own circumstances, and without reference to any future boast or imputation. It is upon these circumstances the case must be tried, and every colour subsequently thrown on it, either by wit or folly, ought to be discharged. Take it, then, as it stands hitherto, with reference only to its own preceding and concomitant circumstances, and to the unbounded ability of *Shakespeare* to obtain his own ends, and we must, I think, be compelled to confess that this transaction was never intended by *Shakespeare* to detect and expose the false pretences of a real Coward ; but, on the contrary, to involve a man of allowed Courage, though in other respects of a very peculiar character, in such circumstances and

subdicious



suspicious of Cowardice as might, by the combination of those peculiarities, produce afterwards much temporary mirth among his familiar and intimate companions: Of this we can require a stronger proof than the great attention which is paid to the decorum and truth of character in the stage direction already quoted: It appears, from thence, that it is not thought *decent* that *Falstaff* should run at until he had been deserted by his companions and had even afterwards exchanged blows with his assailants;—and thus, a just distinction is kept up between the natural Cowardice of the three associates and the accidental Terrorism of *Falstaff*.

Hitherto, then, I think it is very clear that no laughter either is, or is intended to be, raised upon the score of *Falstaff's* Cowardice. For after all, it is not singular or ridiculous that an old inactive man of no boast, as far as appears, or extraordinary pretension

tensions to valour, should endeavour to save himself by flight from the assault of two bold and vigorous assailants. The very Players, who are, I think, the very worst judges of *Shakespeare*, have been made sensible, I suppose from long experience, that there is nothing in this transaction to excite any extraordinary laughter; but this they take to be a defect in the management of their author, and therefore I imagine it is, that they hold themselves obliged to supply the vacancy, and fill it up with some low buffoonery of their own. Instead of the dispatch necessary on this occasion, they bring *Falstaff*, *stuffing and all*, to the very front of the stage; where with much mummerly and grimace, he seats himself down, with a canvass money-bag in his hand, to divide the spoil. In this situation he is attacked by the *Prince* and *Poins*, whose ti fwords hang idly in the air and delay to stir till the *Player Falstaff*, who seems more troubled with flatulence than fear, is able to rise;

which

which is not till after some ineffectual effort and with the assistance, (to the best of my memory) of one of the thieves, who lingers behind, in spite of terror, for this friendly purpose; after which, without any resistance on his part, he is goaded off the stage like a fat cow for slaughter by these *stony-hearted* drivers in a *buckram*. I think he does not *roar*;—perhaps the player had never perfected himself in the tones of a bull-calf. This whole transaction should be shewn between the interstices of a back scene: The less we see in such cases, the better we conceive. Something of resistance and afterwards of celerity in flight we should be made witnesses of; the *roar* we should take on the credit of *Poins*. Nor is there any occasion for all that bolstering with which they fill up the figure of *Malstaff*; they do not distinguish betwixt humorous exaggeration and necessary truth. The Prince is called *starveling*, *dried neat's tongue*, *stock fish*, and other names of the same nature. They might

wit

with almost as good reason, search the glass-  
houses for some exhausted stoker to furnish out  
Prince of *Wales* of sufficient correspondence  
to this picture.

We next come to the scene of *Falstaff's* braggadoos. I have already wandered too much into details ; yet I must, however, bring *Falstaff* forward to this last scene of trial in all his proper colouring and proportions. The progressive discovery of *Falstaff's* character is excellently managed.—In the first scene we become acquainted with his figure, which we must in some degree consider as a part of his character ; we hear of his gluttony and his debaucheries, and become witnesses of that indistinguishable mixture of humour and licentiousness which runs through his whole character ; but what we are principally struck with, is the ease of his manners and deportment, and the unaffected freedom and wonderful pregnancy of his wit and humour. We see him, in the next scene, agi-

tated with vexation: His horse is concealed from him, and he gives on this occasion striking a description of his distress, and words so labour and are so loaded with and vapour, that, but for laughing, we should pity him; laugh, however, we must at extreme incongruity of a man at once corpulent and old, associating with youth in an enterprise demanding the utmost extravagance of spirit, and all the wildness of activity. And this it is which makes his complaints truly ridiculous. "Give me my horse!" says in another spirit than that of *Richard*; "Eighty yards of uneven ground," adds this *Forrester Diana*, this enterprising gentleman of the shire "is three-score and ten miles a-foot with me. In the heat and agitation of the robbery, comes more and more extravagant instances of incongruity. Though he is most probably older and much fatter than either of the robbers, yet he calls them, *Bacons, Bacon-fed, gorbellied knaves*; "Hang them, (says he) fat ch

"they hate us youth: What! young men, must live :—You are grand Jurors, are ye? We'll jure ye, i' faith." But, as yet, we do not see the whole length and breadth of him: This is reserved for the braggadocio scene. We expect entertainment, but we don't well know of what kind. *Poins*, by his prediction, has given us a hint: But we do not see or feel *Falstaff* to be a Coward, much less a boaster; without which even Cowardice is not sufficiently ridiculous; and therefore it is, that on the stage, we find them always connected. In this uncertainty on our part, he is, with much artful preparation, produced.—His entrance is delayed to stimulate our expectation; and, at last, to take off the dullness of anticipation, and to add surprise to pleasure, he is called in, as if for another purpose of mirth than what we are furnished with: We now behold him, fluctuating with fiction, and labouring with dissembled passion and chagrin: Too full for utterance, *Poins* provokes him by a few sim-

ple words, containing a fine contrast of affected ease. "*Welcome Jack, where hast been?*" But when we hear him burst forth "*A plague on all Cowards! Give me a cup of*" "*Is there no virtue extant!*"—We are at once in possession of the whole man, and are ready to hug him, guts, lyes and all, as an inexhaustible fund of pleasantry and humour. *Cowardice*, I apprehend, is out of our thought it does not, I think, mingle in our mind. As to this point, I have presumed to say already, and I repeat it, that we are, in our opinion, the dupes of our own wisdom, systematic reasoning, of second thought, and after reflection. The first spectators, I believe, thought of nothing but the laughable for which so singular a character was falling in, and were delighted to see a humourous and principled wit so happily taken in his own inventions, precluded from all rational defence and driven to the necessity of crying out,

er a few ludicrous evasions, "*No more of that, Hal, if thou lov'st me.*"

I do not conceive myself obliged to enter into a consideration of *Falstaff's* lyes concerning the transaction at *Gad's-hill*. I have considered his conduct as independent of those lyes; I have examined the whole of it apart, and found it free of Cowardice or fear, except in one instance, which I have endeavoured to account for and excuse. I have therefore right to infer that those lyes are to be derived, not from Cowardice, but from some other part of his character, which it does not concern me to examine: But I have not contented myself hitherto with this sort of negative defence; and the reader I believe is aware that I am resolute (though I confess not un-  
1irred) to carry this fat rogue out of the reach of every imputation which affects, or may seem to affect, his natural Courage.



The first observation then which strikes as to his braggadocioes, is, that they are braggadocioes *after the fact*. In other cases we the Coward of the Play bluster and boast a time, talk of distant wars, and private duels out of the reach of knowledge and of defence; of storms and stratagems, and of falling in upon the enemy pell-mell and putting thousands to the sword; till, at length, on proof of some present and apparent fact, is brought to open and *lasting* shame; to shaming I mean as a *Coward*; for as to what there is of *lyar* in the case, it is considered only accessory and scarcely reckoned into the count of dishonour.—But in the instance before us, every thing is reversed: The play opens with the *Fact*; a Fact, from its circumstances as well as from the age and inactivity of the man, very excusable and capable of much apology, if not of defence. This is preceded by no bluster or pretence whatever;—the lies and braggadocioes follow;

they are not *general*; they are confined, and have reference to this one Fact only; the detection is *immediate*; and after some accompanying mirth and laughter, the shame of that detection ends; it has no *duration*, as in other cases; and, for the rest of the Play, the character stands just where it did before *without any punishment or degradation whatever*.

To account for all this, let us only suppose that *Falstaff* was a man of natural Courage, though in all respects unprincipled; but that he was surprized in one single instance into an act of real terror; which, instead of excusing upon circumstances, he endeavours to cover by lyes and braggadocio; and that these lyes become thereupon the subject, in this place, of detection. Upon these suppositions the whole difficulty will vanish at once, and every thing be natural, common, and plain. The *Fact* itself will be of course *excusable*; that is, it will arise out of a combination of such circumstances,

stances, as being applicable to one case or will not destroy the general character: It not be *preceded* by any braggadocio, containing any fair indication of Cowardice; as Cowardice is not supposed to exist in the character. But the first act of real or apparent Cowardice would naturally throw a vain principled man into the use of lyes and braggadocio; but these would have reference only to the *Fact in question*, and not apply to other cases or infect his general character, which is not supposed to stand in need of imposition. Again,—the detection of Cowardice as it is more diverting after a long and various course of Pretence, where the lye of character is preserved, as it were, whole, and brought into sufficient magnitude for a burst of covery; yet, mere occasional lyes, such as *Falstaff* is hereby supposed to utter, are, the purpose of sport, best detected in the living; because, indeed, they cannot be preserved for a future time; the exigence and  
hun

humour will be past: But the *shame* arising to *Falstaff* from the detection of *mere lyes* would be *temporary only*; his character as to this point, being already known, and *tolerated for the humour*. Nothing, therefore, could follow but mirth and laughter, and the temporary triumph of baffling a wit at his own weapons, and reducing him to an absolute surrender: After which, we ought not to be surprized if we see him rise again, like a boy from play, and run another race with as little dishonour as before.

What then can we say, but that it is clearly the lyes only, not the *Cowardice* of *Falstaff* which are here detected: *Lyes*, to which what there may be of *Cowardice* is incidental only, improving indeed the Jest, but by no means the real Business of the scene.—And now also we may more clearly discern the true force and meaning of *Poins's* prediction. “*The Jest* “*will be, says he, the incomprehensible Lyes that*  
“*this*

“*this fat rogue will tell us: How thirty*  
 “*least he fought with:—and in the reproof*  
 “*this lyes the jest;*” That is, in the detection  
 of these lyes *simply*; for as to *Courage*, he  
 never ventured to insinuate more than *Falstaff*  
*Falstaff* would not fight longer than he  
 cause: *Poins* was in expectation indeed *Falstaff*  
*Falstaff* would fall into some dishonour  
 this occasion; an event highly probable:  
 this was not, it seems, to be the principal  
 ground of their mirth, but the detection  
 those *incomprehensible lyes*, which he both  
 predicts, upon his knowledge of *Falstaff*’s  
 character, this *fat rogue*, not *Coward*, would  
 them. This prediction therefore, and the completion  
 of it, go only to the impeachment  
 of *Falstaff*’s *veracity* and not of his *Courage*. *I*  
 “*lies, says the Prince, are like the father*  
 “*them, gross as a mountain, open, palpable*  
 “*Why thou clay-brained guts, thou knotty*  
 “*ted fool; how couldst thou know these men in 1*

*'dal Green, when it was so dark thou couldst  
"not see thy hand? Come tell us your reason."*

*"Poins. Come your reason, Jack, your reason."*

*"Again, says the Prince, Hear how a plain  
"Tale shall put you down—What trick, what de-  
"vice, what starting hole canst thou now find  
"out to hide thee from this open and apparent  
"shame?"*

*"Poins. Come let's hear, Jack, what trick  
hast thou now?"*

All this clearly refers to *Falstaff's* lyes only as such; and the objection seems to be, that he had not told them well, and with sufficient skill and probability. Indeed nothing seems to have been required of *Falstaff* at any period of time but a good evasion. The truth is that there is so much mirth, and so little of malice or imposition, in his fictions, that they  
may

may for the most part be considered as a  
 strains of humour and exercises of wit,  
 peachable only for defect, when that  
 pens, of the quality from which they  
 principally derived. Upon this occasion  
*staff's* evasions fail him; he is at the  
 of his invention; and it seems fair that  
 defect of wit, the law should pass upon him  
 and that he should undergo the tempo-  
 censure of that Cowardice which he can-  
 not pass off by any evasion whatever. The  
 he could think of, was *instinct*: He was  
 deed a *Coward upon instinct*; in that respect  
*a valiant lion, who would not touch the true Pr*  
 It would have been a vain attempt, the  
 der will easily perceive, in *Falstaff*, to have  
 gone upon other ground, and to have aimed  
 at justifying his Courage by a serious vi-  
 cation: This would have been to have mistaken  
 the true point of argument: It was his  
 not his *Courage*, which was really in question  
 There was besides no getting out of the

in which he had entangled himself: If he was not, he ought at least, by his own shewing, to have *been at half-sword with a dozen of them two hours together*; whereas, it unfortunately appears, and that too evidently to be evaded, that he had run with singular celerity from *two*, after the exchange of *a few blows* only. This precluded *Falstaff* from all rational defence in his own person;—but it has not precluded me, who am not the advocate of his *lies* but of his *Courage*.

But there are other singularities in *Falstaff's* lies, which go more directly to his vindication.—That they are confined to one scene and one occasion only, we are not *now* at a loss to account for;—but what shall we say to their extravagance? The lies of *Parolles* and *Bobadill* are brought into some shape; but the fictions of *Falstaff* are so preposterous and *incomprehensible*, that one may fairly doubt if they ever were intended for credit; and  
therefore



therefore, if they ought to be called *lyes*, not rather *humour*; or, to compound the matter, *humourous rhodomontades*. Certain it is, they destroy their own purpose and are clear not the effect, in this respect, of a regular practice, and habit of imposition. The truth seems to be, that had *Halsstaff*, loose unprincipled as he is, been born a Cavalier and bred a Soldier, he must, naturally, have been a great *Braggadocio*, a true *miles gloriosus*. But in such case he should have been inhibited active and young; for it is precisely that age and corpulency are an excuse for Cowardice, which ought not to be afforded him. In the present case, wherein he was only involved in suspicious circumstances, wherein he seems to have felt some conscious touch of infirmity, and having no solid did construction to expect from his laughing companions, he bursts at once, and with his might, into the most unweighed and postulous fictions, determined to put to p

on this occasion his boasted talent of *swearing truth out of England*. He tried it here, to its utmost extent, and was unfortunately routed on his own ground ; which indeed, with such a mine beneath his feet, could not be otherwise. But without this, he had mingled in his deceits so much whimsical humour and fantastic exaggeration that he must have been detected ; and herein appears the admirable address of *Shakespeare*, who can shew us *Falstaff* in the various light, not only of what he is, but what he would have been under one single variation of character,—the want of natural Courage ; whilst with an art not enough understood, he most effectually preserves the real character of *Falstaff* even in the moment he seems to depart from it, by making his lyes too extravagant for practised imposition ; by grounding them more upon humour than deceit ; and turning them, as we shall next see, into a fair and honest proof of general Courage, by appropriating them to the concealment

ment only of a single exception. And he it is, that we see him draw so deeply : so confidently upon his former credit for Courage and atchievment : "*I never dealt better my life, — thou know'st my old ward, Hal ;*" are expressions, which clearly refer to some known feats and defences of his former life. I exclaimations against Cowardice, his reference to his own manhood, "*Die with thou wilt old Jack, if manhood, good manhood, be not forgot upon the face of the earth then am I a shotten herring :*" These, and various expressions such as these, would be absurdities not impositions, Farce not Comedy if not calculated to conceal some defect supposed unknown to the hearers ; and these heers were, in the present case, his constant companions, and the daily witnesses of his conduct. If before this period he had been known and detected Coward, and was conscious that he had no credit to lose, I see no reason why he should fly so violently from family

familiar ignominy which had often before attached him; or why falsehoods, seemingly in such a case, neither calculated for or expecting credit, should be censured, or detected, as lyes or imposition.

That the whole transaction was considered as a mere jest, and as carrying with it no serious imputation on the Courage of *Falstaff* is manifest, not only from his being allowed, when the laugh was past, to call himself, without contradiction in the personated character of *Hal* himself, "valiant *Jack Falstaff*, and "the more valiant being, as he is, old *Jack Falstaff*," but from various other particulars, and, above all, from the declaration, which the Prince makes on that very night of his intention of procuring this *fat rogue a Charge of foot*;—a circumstance, doubtless, contrived by *Shakespeare* to wipe off the seeming dishonour of the day: And from this time forward, we hear of no imputation arising from this transaction; it is

born and dies in a convivial hour; it leaves no trace behind, nor do we see any long in the character of *Falstaff* the boasting braggadocio of a Coward.

Tho' I have considered *Falstaff*'s character as relative only to one single quality, yet much has been said, that it cannot escape the reader's notice that he is a character made up by *Shakespeare* wholly of incongruities ;—a man at once young and old, enterprising and feeble, a dupe and a wit, harmless and wicked, weak in principle and resolute by constitution, cowardly in appearance and brave in reality; a knave without malice, a liar without deceit, a knight, a gentleman, and a soldier, without either dignity, decency, or honour : This is a character, which, though it may be decomposed, could not, I believe, have been formed, nor the ingredients of it duly mingled upon any receipt whatever : It required the hand of *Shakespeare* himself to give to every particular

particular part a relish of the whole, and of the whole to every particular part ;—alike the same incongruous, identical *Falstaff*, whether to the grave Chief Justice he vainly talks of his youth, and offers to *caper for a thousand*; or cries to Mrs. Doll, “ *I am old, I am old,*” though she is seated on his lap, and he is courting her for kisses. How *Shakespeare* could furnish out sentiment of so extraordinary a composition, and supply it with such appropriated and characteristic language, humour and wit, I cannot tell; but I may, however, venture to infer, and that confidently, that he who so well understood the uses of incongruity, and that laughter was to be raised by the opposition of qualities in the same man, and not by their agreement or conformity, would never have attempted to raise mirth by shewing us Cowardice in a Coward unattended by Pretence, and softened by every excuse of age, corpulence, and infirmity: And of this we cannot have a more striking proof than his furnish-

ing this very character, on one instance real terror, however excusable, with boagbraggadocio, and pretence, exceeding that of all other stage Cowards the whole length of his superior wit, humour, and invention.

What then upon the whole shall be said but that *Shakespeare* has made certain Impressions, or produced certain effects, of which he has thought fit to conceal or obscure the cause? How he has done this, and for what special ends, we shall now presume to guess.—Before the period in which *Shakespeare* wrote the fools and Zanyes of the stage were drawn out of the coarsest and cheapest materials: Some essential folly, with a dash of knave and coxcomb did the feat. But *Shakespeare*, who delighted in difficulties, was resolved to furnish a richer repast, and to give to one eminent buffoon the high relish of wit, humour, birth, dignity, and Courage. But this was a process which required the nicest hand, and the utmost

soft management and address: These enumerated qualities are, in their own nature, repulsive of *respect*; an Impression the most opposite to laughter that can be. This Impression then, it was, at all adventures, necessary to with-hold; which could not perhaps all be without dressing up these qualities in fantastic forms, and colours not their own; and thereby cheating the eye with shews of baseness and of folly, whilst he stole as it were upon the palate a richer and a fuller *gout*. To this end, what arts, what contrivances, has he not practised! How has he steeped this singular character in bad habits for fifty years together, and brought him forth saturated with every folly and with every vice not destructive of his essential character, or incompatible with his own primary design! For this end, he has deprived *Falstaff* of every good principle; and for another, which will be presently mentioned, he has concealed every bad one. He has given him also every infirmity of body



that is not likely to awaken our compassion and which is most proper to render both his better qualities and his vices ridiculous: I has associated levity and debauch with a corpulence and inactivity with *courage*, and ludicrously coupled the gout with *Military* , *nours*, and a *pension* with the *pox*. He likewise involved this character in a situation out of which neither wit or Courage can extricate him with honour. The surprize *Gads-hill* might have betrayed a hero in flight, and the encounter with *Douglas* left him no choice but death or stratagem. If he plays an after-game, and endeavours to redeem his ill fortune by lies and braggadocio, his ground fails him; no wit, no evasion will avail: is he likely to appear respectable in his person, rank, and demeanor, how is that respect abated or discharged! *Shakespeare* has given him a kind of state indeed; but of what is composed? Of that fustian cowardly *ra Pistol*, and his yoke-fellow of few words

equ

qually deedless *Nym*; of his cup-bearer the  
 ery *Trigon*, whose zeal burns in his nose,  
*ardolph*; and of the boy, who bears the purse  
 ith *seven groats and two-pence*;—a boy who was  
 ven him on purpose to fet him off, and  
 hom he walks *before*, according to his own  
 scription, "*like a sow that had overwhelmed*  
*all her litter but one.*"

But it was not enough to render *Falstaff* ri-  
 culous in his figure, situations, and equi-  
 age; *still* his respectable qualities would have  
 ome forth, at least occasionally, to spoil our  
 irth; or they might have burst the inter-  
 ention of such slight impediments, and have  
 very where shone through: It was necessary  
 en to go farther, and throw on him that sub-  
 antial ridicule, which only the incongruities  
 ' real vice can furnish; of vice, which was  
 be so mixed and blended with his frame  
 to give a durable character and colour to  
 e whole.

But it may here be necessary to detain the reader a moment in order to apprize him of my further intention; without which, I might hazard that good understanding, which I hope has hitherto been preserved between us.

I have 'till now looked only to the Courage of *I'alstaff*, a quality which having been denied, in terms, to belong to his constitution, I have endeavoured to vindicate to the Understandings of my readers; the Impression on their Feelings (in which all Dramatic truth consists) being already, as I have supposed, in favour of the character. In the pursuit of this subject I have taken the general Impression of the whole character pretty much, I suppose, like other men; and, when occasion has required, have so transmitted it to the reader; joining in the common Feeling of *I'alstaff*'s pleasantry, his apparent freedom from ill principle, and his companionable wit and good humour: With a stage character, in the article

cle

e of exhibition, we have nothing more to  
 ; for in fact what is it but an Impression;  
 appearance, which we are to consider as a  
 ality; and which we may venture to ap-  
 laud or condemn as such, without further in-  
 quiry or investigation? But if we would ac-  
 count for our Impressions, or for certain senti-  
 ments or actions in a character, not derived  
 from its apparent principles, yet appearing, we  
 know not why, natural, we are then compelled  
 to look farther, and examine if there be not  
 something more in the character than is  
*seen*; something inferred, which is not brought  
 under our special notice: In short, we must  
 look to the art of the writer, and to the prin-  
 ciples of human nature, to discover the hid-  
 den causes of such effects.—Now this is a  
 very different matter—The former considera-  
 tions respected the Impression only, without  
 regard to the Understanding; but this question  
 relates to the Understanding alone. It is true  
 that there are but few Dramatic characters  
 which

which will bear this kind of investigation, not being drawn in exact conformity to the principles of general nature to which we may refer. But this is not the case with regard to the characters of *Shakespeare*; they are struck out *whole*, by some happy art which I cannot clearly comprehend, out of the general mass of things, from the block as it were of nature. And it is, I think, an easier thing to give a just draught of man from these Theatrical forms which I cannot help considering as original than by drawing from real life, amidst much intricacy, obliquity, and disguise. therefore, for further proofs of *Isham's* Courage, or for the sake of curious speculation or for both, I change my position, and look to causes instead of effects, the reader may not be surprized if he finds the former *Fall* vanish like a dream, and another, of more disgusting form, presented to his view; one, whose final punishment we shall be so far from regretting, that we ourselves shall be ready to consign him to a severer doom.

The reader will very easily apprehend that character, which we might wholly disapprove of, considered as existing in human life, may yet be thrown on the stage into certain peculiar situations, and be compressed by external influences into such temporary appearances, as may render such character for a time highly acceptable and entertaining, and even more distinguished for qualities, which on this supposition would be accidents only, than another character really possessing those qualities, at which, under the pressure of the same situation and influences, would be distorted into different form, or totally lost in timidity and weakness. If therefore the character before us will admit of this kind of investigation, our Inquiry will not be without some dignity, considered as extending to the principles of human nature, and to the genius and arts of Him, who has best caught every various form of the human mind, and transmitted them with the truest happiness and fidelity.

To

To return then to the vices of *Falstaff*. We have frequently referred to them under the name of ill habits;—but perhaps the reader is not fully aware how very vicious he indeed is;—he is a robber, a glutton, a cheater, a drunkard, and a liar; lascivious, vain, insolent, profligate, and profane:—A fine infusion of this, and such as without very excellent cooling must have thrown into the dish a great deal too much of the *fumet*. It was a nice operation;—these vices were not only to be of a particular sort, but it was also necessary to guard them at both ends; on the *one*, from all appearance of malicious motive, and indeed from the manifestation of any ill principle whatever, which must have produced *disgust*,—a sensation no less opposite to laughter than *respect*;—and, on the *other*, from the notice, or even apprehension, in the spectators, of *pernicious effects*. which produces *grief* and *terror*, and is the province of Tragedy alone.

*Actions* cannot with strict propriety be said to be either virtuous or vicious. These qualities, or attributes, belong to *agents* only; and are derived, even in respect to *them*, from intention alone. The abstracting of qualities, and considering them as independent of any *object*, and the applying of them afterwards to actions independent of the agent, is a double operation which I do not pretend, thro' any part of it, to understand. All actions may most properly, in their own nature, I think, be called *neutral*; tho' in common discourse, and in writing where precision is not requisite, we often term them *vicious*, transferring on these occasions the attributive from the *agent* to the *action*; and sometimes we call them *evil*, or of pernicious effect, by transferring, in like manner, the injuries incidentally arising from certain actions to the life, happiness, or interest of human beings, to the natural operation, whether moral or physical, of the *actions* themselves: One is a colour  
thrown



thrown on them by the *intention*, in which think consists all moral turpitude, and the *other* by effect: If therefore a Dramatic writer will use certain managements to keep vicious intention as much as possible from our notice, and make us sensible that an evil effect follows, he may pass off action of very vicious motive, without much ill impression, as mere *incongruities*, and the effect of *humour* only;—*words these*, which, as applied to human conduct, are employed, I believe, to cover a great deal of what may deserve much harder appellation.

The *difference* between suffering an evil effect to take place, and of preventing such effect, from actions precisely of the same nature, is so great, that it is often *all the difference* between Tragedy and Comedy. The Fingentleman of the Comic scene, who promptly draws his sword, and wounds, without killing, some other gentleman of the same

me fort; and *He* of Tragedy, whose stabs  
 e mortal, differ very frequently in no other  
 oint whatever. If our *Falstaff* had really  
*ppered* (as he calls it) *two rogues in buckram*  
*its*, we must have looked for a very different  
 onclusion, and have expected to have found  
*alstaff's* Essential prose converted into blank  
 erse, and to have seen him move off, in  
 ow and measured paces, like the City Pren-  
 ce to the tolling of a Passing bell;—"he  
*would have become a cart as well as another,*  
*or a plague on his bringing up."*

Every incongruity in a rational being is a  
 ource of laughter, whether it respects man-  
 ers, sentiments, conduct, or even dress, or situ-  
 ion;—but the greatest of all possible incon-  
 ruity is vice, whether in the intention it-  
 lf, or as transferred to, and becoming more  
 anifest in action;—it is inconsistent with moral  
 gency, nay, with rationality itself, and all the  
 ids and purposes of our being.—Our author  
 describes

describes the natural ridicule of vice in his *MEASURE for MEASURE* in the strongest terms, where, after having made the angels weep over the vices of men, he adds, *that with our spleens they might laugh themselves quite mortal.* Indeed if we had a perfect discernment of the ends of this life only, and could preserve ourselves from sympathy, disgust and terror, the vices of mankind would be a source of perpetual entertainment. The great difference between *Heraclitus* and *Democritus* lay it seems, in their spleen only;—for a wise and good man must either laugh or cry without ceasing. Nor indeed is it easy to conceive (to instance in one case only) a more laughable, or a more melancholy object, than a human being, his nature and duration considered, earnestly and anxiously exchanging peace of mind and conscious integrity for gold; and for gold too, which he has often no occasion for, or dares not employ :—But

*Voltaire*

*Voltaire* has by one Publication rendered all arguments superfluous : He has told us, in his *andide*, the merriest and most diverting tale of auds, murders, massacres, rapes, rapine, debauchation, and destruction, that I think it possible on any other plan to invent ; and he has given us *motive* and *effect*, with every possible aggravation, to improve the sport. One would think it difficult to preserve the point of ridicule, in such a case, unabated by contrary notions ; but now that the feat is performed

appears of easy imitation, and I am amazed that our race of imitators have made no efforts in this sort : It would answer I could think in the way of profit, not to mention the moral uses to which it might be applied. The managements of *Voltaire* consist in this, that he assumes a gay, easy, and light tone himself ; that he never excites the reflections of his readers by making any of his own ; that he hurries us on with such a rapidity of narration as prevents our

M

emotions

emotions from resting on any particular point and to gain this end, he has interwoven the conclusion of one fact so into the commencement of another, that we find ourselves engaged in new matter before we are sensible that we had finished the old; he has likewise made his crimes so enormous, that we do not sadden on any sympathy, or find ourselves partakers in the guilt.—But what is truly singular as to this book, is, that it does not appear to have been written for any moral purpose, but for That only (if I do not err) of satyrising Providence itself; a design so enormously profane, that it may well pass for the most ridiculous part of the whole composition.

But if vice, divested of disgust and terror is thus in its own nature ridiculous, we ought not to be surpris'd if the very same vice which spread horror and desolation thro' the Tragic scene should yet furnish the Comi  
 wit

th its higheſt laughter and delight, and that  
 ars, and mirth, and even humour and wit  
 elf, ſhould grow from the ſame root of  
 congruity : For what is humour in the hu-  
 ouriſt, but incongruity, whether of ſentiment,  
 nduct, or manners ? What in the man of  
 umour, but a quick diſcernment, and keen  
 uſibility of theſe incongruities ? And what is  
 t itſelf, without preſuming however to give  
 complete definition where ſo many have  
 iled, but a talent, for the moſt part, of  
 arking with force and vivacity unexpected  
 ints of likenefs in things ſuppoſed incon-  
 uous, and points of incongruity in things ſup-  
 oſed alike : And hence it is that wit and humour,  
 o' always diſtinguiſhed, are ſo often coupled  
 gether ; it being very poſſible, I ſuppoſe, to  
 : a man of humour without wit ; but I  
 ink not a man of wit without humour.

But I have here raiſed ſo much new matter,  
 at the reader may be out of hope of ſee-

ing this argument, any more than the tale of *Tristram*, brought to a conclusion: He may suppose me now prepared to turn my pen to a moral, or to a dramatic Essay, or ready to draw the line between vice and virtue, or Comedy and Tragedy, as fancy shall lead the way;—But he is happily mistaken; I am pressing earnestly, and not without some impatience, to a conclusion. The principles I have now opened are necessary to be considered for the purpose of estimating the character of *Falstaff*, considered as relatively to human nature; I shall then reduce him with all possible dispatch to his Theatric condition, and restore him, I hope, without injury, to the stage.

There is indeed a vein or two of argument running through the matter that now surrounds me, which I might open for my own more peculiar purposes; but which, having resisted much greater temptations, I shall wholly desert. It ought not, however, to be forgotten  
tha

t if *Shakespeare* has used arts to abate our  
 defect of *Falstaff*, it should follow by just  
 inference, that, without such arts, his charac-  
 ter would have grown into a *respect* inconsis-  
 tent with laughter; and that yet, without  
 courage, he could not have been respectable  
 at all;—that it required nothing less than the  
 union of ability and Courage to support his  
 other more accidental qualities with any tol-  
 erable coherence. Courage and Ability are first  
 principles of Character, and not to be destroyed  
 without the united frame of body and mind con-  
 valescing whole and unimpaired; they are the  
 pillars on which he stands firm in spite of  
 his vices and disgraces;—but if we should  
 take Courage away, and reckon Cowardice a-  
 mong his other defects, all the intelligence  
 and wit in the world could not support him  
 through a single Play.

The effect of taking away the influence  
 of this quality upon the manners of a cha-  
 racter,



racter, tho' the quality and the influence he assumed only, is evident in the cases of *Parolles*, and *Bobadil*. *Parolles*, at least, did not seem to want wit ; but both these characters are reduced almost to non-entity, and after their disgraces, walk only thro' a scene or two, the mere mockery of their former existence. *Parolles* was so changed, that neither the *fool*, nor the old lord *Le-fau*, could readily recollect his person ; and his wit seemed to be annihilated with his Courage.

Let it not be here objected that *Falstaff* is universally considered as a Coward ;—we do indeed call him so ; but that is nothing if the character itself does not act from an consciousness of this kind, and if our Feelings take his part, and revolt against our understanding.

As to the arts by which *Shakespeare* has contrived to obscure the vices of *Falstaff*, the

such, as being subservient only to the mirth of the Play, I do not feel myself obliged to dil.

But it may be well worth our curiosity to enquire into the composition of *Falstaff's* character.—Every man we may observe, has two characters; that is, every man may be seen externally, and from without;—or a section may be made of him, and he may be illuminated from within.

Of the external character of *Falstaff*, we can scarcely be said to have any steady view. In *Falstaff* we are familiar with, but *Sir John* is better known, it seems, to the rest of Europe, than to his intimate companions; yet we have many glimpses of him, and he is opened to us occasionally in such various points of view, that we cannot be mistaken in describing him as a man of birth and fashion, bred in all the learning and accomplishments of

the times ;—of ability and Courage equal to any situation, and capable by nature of the highest affairs; trained to arms, and possessing the tone, the deportment, and the manners of a gentleman ;—but yet these accomplishments and advantages seem to hang loose on him, and to be worn with a slovenly carelessness and inattention : A too great indulgence of the qualities of humour and wit seems to draw him too much one way, and to destroy the grace and orderly arrangement of his other accomplishments ;—and hence he becomes strongly marked for one advantage, to the injury, and almost forgetfulness in the beholder, of all the rest. Some of his vices likewise strike through, and stain his Exterior ;—his modes of speech betray a certain licentiousness of mind ; and that high Aristocratic tone which belonged to his situation was pushed on, and aggravated into unfeeling insolence and oppression. “ *It is not a confirmed brow,*” says the Chief Justice

ice, "nor the throng of words that come with  
 ch more than impudent sauciness from you, can  
 rust me from a level consideration:" "My lord,  
 vers Falstaff, "you call honourable boldness im-  
 dent sauciness. If a man will court'sie and say  
 thing, he is virtuous: No my lord, my humble  
 ty remembered, I will not be your suitor. I say  
 you I desire deliverance from these officers, being  
 on hasty employment in the King's affairs."  
 u speak, replies the Chief Justice, "as hav-  
 g power to do wrong."—His whole behaviour  
 the Chief Justice, whom he despairs of  
 ning by flattery, is singularly insolent; and  
 reader will remember many instances of  
 insolence to others: Nor are his manners  
 ys free from the taint of vulgar society;  
*This is the right fencing grace, my lord,*" (says he  
 he Chief Justice, with great impropriety of  
 ners) "*tap for tap, and so part fair:*" "*Now*  
*lord lighten thee,*" is the reflection of the  
 of Justice, "*thou art a very great fool.*"—

Such

Such a character as I have here described, strengthened with that vigour, force, and alacrity of mind, of which he is possessed, must have spread terror and dismay thro' the ignorant, the timid, the modest, and the weak : Yet is he however, when occasion requires, capable of much accomodation and flattery;—and in order to obtain the protection and patronage of the great, so convenient to his vices and his poverty, he was put under the daily necessity of practising and improving these arts ; a baseness, which he compensates to himself, like other unprincipled men, by an increase of insolence towards his inferiors.—There is also a natural activity about *Malstaff*, which for want of proper employment, shews itself in a kind of swell or baffle, which seems to correspond with his bulk, as if his mind had inflated his body, and demanded a habitation of no less circumference : Thus conditioned he rolls (in the language of *Ossian*) like a *Whirl of Ocean*, scattering the smaller fry ; but afford  
in

in his turn, noble contention to *Hal* and *us*; who, to keep up the allusion, I may be allowed on this occasion to compare to the Thresher and the Sword-fish.

To this part of *Falstaff's* character, many things which he does and says, and which appear unaccountably natural, are to be recorded.

We are next to see him *from within*: And here we shall behold him most villainously unprincipled and debauched; possessing indeed some Courage and ability, yet stained with numerous vices, unsuited not only to his many qualities, but to his age, corpulency, rank, and profession;—reduced by these vices to a state of dependence, yet resolutely bent to indulge them at any price. These vices have been already enumerated; they are many, and become still more intolerable by an excess

cess of unfeeling insolence on one hand, and of base accomodation on the other.

But what then, after all, is become of *old Jack*? Is this the jovial delightful companion—*Falstaff*, the favourite and the boast of the Stage?—by no means. But it is, I think however, the *Falstaff* of Nature; the very stuff out of which the *Stage Falstaff* is composed; nor was it possible, I believe, out of any other materials he could have been formed. From this disagreeable draught we shall be able, I trust, by a proper disposition of light and shade, and from the influence and compression of external things, to produce *plump Jack*, the life of humour, the spirit of pleasantry, and the soul of mirth.

To this end, *Falstaff* must no longer be considered as a single independent character; but grouped, as we find him shewn to us in the Play;—his ability must be disgraced by buffoonery,

affoonery, and his Courage by circumstances of reputation; and those qualities be thereupon reduced into subjects of mirth and laughter:—his vices must be concealed at each end from conscious design and evil effect, and must thereupon be turned into incongruities, and assume the name of humour only;—his insolence must be repressed by the superior tone of *Hal* and *Boins*, and take the softer name of spirit only, and alacrity of mind;—his state of dependence, his temper of accommodation, and his activity, must fall in precisely with the indulgence of his humours; that is, he must thrive best and flatter most, by being extravagantly congruous; and his own tendency, impelled by so much activity, will carry him with perfect ease and freedom to all the necessary excesses. But why, it may be asked, should incongruities recommend *Falstaff* to the favour of the Prince?—Because the Prince is supposed to possess a high relish of humour  
and



and to have a temper and a force about him which, whatever was his pursuit, delights in excess. This, *Falstaff* is supposed perfectly to comprehend; and thereupon not only to indulge himself in all kinds of incongruity but to lend out his own superior wit and humour against himself, and to heighten the ridicule by all the tricks and arts of buffoonery for which his corpulence, his age and situation, furnish such excellent materials. This compleats the Dramatic character of *Falstaff*, and gives him that appearance of perfect good-nature, pleasantry, mellowness and hilarity of mind, for which we admire and almost love him, tho' we feel certain reserves which forbid our going that length the true reason of which is, that there will be always found a difference between mere appearances, and reality: Nor are we, nor can we be, insensible that whenever the action or external influence upon him is in whole or in part relaxed, the character restores itself

self proportionably to its more unpleasing condition.

A character really possessing the qualities which are on the stage imputed to *Falstaff*, would be best shewn by its own natural energy; the least compression would disorder it, and make us feel for it all the pain of sympathy: It is the artificial condition of *Falstaff* which is the source of our delight; we enjoy his distresses, we *gird at him* ourselves, and urge the sport without the least alloy of compassion; and we give him, when the laugh is over, undeserved credit for the pleasure we enjoyed. If any one thinks that these observations are the effect of too much refinement, and that there was in truth more of chance in the case than of management or design, let him try his own luck;—perhaps he may draw out of the wheel of fortune a *Macbeth*, an *Othello*, a *Benedick*, or a *Falstaff*.

Such, I think, is the true character of this extraordinary buffoon; and from hence we may discern for what special purpose *Shakespeare* has given him talents and qualities which were to be afterwards obscured, and perverted to ends opposite to their nature it was clearly to furnish out a Stage buffoon of a peculiar sort; a kind of Game-bull which would stand the baiting thro' a hundred Plays and produce equal sport, whether he is pinned down occasionally by *Hal* or *Poins*, or tossed such mongrils as *Bardolph*, or the Justices, sprawling in the air. There is in truth no such thing as totally demolishing *I'alfstaff*; he has so much of the invulnerable in his frame that no ridicule can destroy him; he is safe even in defeat, and seems to rise, like another *Anteus* with recruited vigour from every fall; in this as in every other respect, unlike *Parolles* or *Bobadil*: They fall by the first shaft of ridicule, but *Falstaff* is a butt on which we may empty the whole quiver, whilst the substance

stance of his character remains unimpaired. His ill habits, and the accidents of age and impotence, are no part of his essential constitution; they come forward indeed on our view, and solicit our notice, but they are second natures, not *first*; mere shadows, we pursue them in vain; *Falstaff* himself has a distinct and separate subsistence; he laughs at the chase, and when the sport is over, dismisses them with unruffled feather under his wing: And hence it is that he is made to undergo not one detection only, but a series of detections; that he is not formed for one play only, but was intended originally at least for two; and the author we are told, was doubtful if he should not extend him yet farther, and engage him in the wars with *France*. This he might well have done, for there is nothing perishable in the nature of *Falstaff*: He might have involved him, by the vicious part of his character, in new difficulties and unlucky situations, and have enabled

him, by the better part, to have scrambled through, abiding and retorting the jests and laughter of every beholder.

But whatever we may be told concerning the intention of *Shakespeare* to extend this character farther, there is a manifest preparation near the end of the second part of *Henry IV.* for his disgrace: The disguise is taken off and he begins openly to pander to the excesses of the Prince, intitling himself to the character afterwards given him of being *the tutor and the feeder of his riots*. "*I will fetch off,*" (says he) "*these Justices.—I will devise matter enough out of this Shallow to keep the Prince in continual laughter the wearing out of his fashions.—If the young dace be a bait for the old pike,*" (speaking with reference to his own designs upon *Shallow*) "*I see no reason in the law of nature but I may snap at him.*"—This is shewing himself abominably dissolute The laborious arts of fraud, which he practice  
tice

ces on *Shallow* to induce the loan of a thousand pound, create *disgust*; and the more, as we are sensible this money was never likely to be *paid back*, as we are told that *was*, of which the travellers had been robbed. It is true we feel no pain for *Shallow*, he being a very bad character, as would fully appear, if he were unfolded; but *Falstaff's* deliberation in fraud is not on that account more excusable.—The event of the old King's death draws him out almost into detestation.—“*Master Robert Shallow, chuse what office thou wilt in the land,—’tis thine.—I am fortune’s steward.—Let us take any man’s horses.—The laws of England are at my commandment.—Happy are they who have been my friends;—and woe to my Lord Chief Justice.*”—After this we ought not to complain if we see Poetic justice duly executed upon him, and that he is finally given up to shame and dishonour.

But it is remarkable that, during this process, we are not acquainted with the success of *Falstaff's* designs upon *Shallow* 'till the moment of his disgrace. "*If I had had time,*" (say he to *Shallow*, as the King is approaching "*to have made new liveries, I would have bestowed the thousand pounds I borrowed of you;*"—and the first word he utters after this period is "*Master Shallow, I owe you a thousand pounds:*" We may from hence very reasonably presume, that *Shakespeare* meant to connect this fraud with the punishment of *Falstaff*, as more avowed ground of censure and dishonour: Nor ought the consideration that this passage contains the most exquisite comic humour and propriety in another view, to diminish the truth of this observation.

But however just it might be to demolish *Falstaff* in this way, by opening to us his bad principles it was by no means convenient. If we had been to have seen a single representation

tation of him only, it might have been  
 per enough; but as he was to be shewn  
 m night to night, and from age to age, the  
 gust arising from the *close*, would by de-  
 es have spread itself over the whole cha-  
 ter; reference would be had throughout to  
 bad principles, and he would have be-  
 me less acceptable as he was more known:  
 nd yet it was necessary to bring him, like  
 other stage characters, to some conclusion.  
 very play must be wound up by some event,  
 hich may shut in the characters and the action.  
 ' some *hero* obtains a crown, or a mistress,  
 volving therein the fortune of others, we  
 e satisfied;—we do not desire to be after-  
 wards admitted of his council, or his bed-  
 chamber: Or it through jealousy, causeless  
 or well founded, *another* kills a beloved wife,  
 nd himself after,—there is no more to be  
 aid;—they are dead, and there an end;  
 Or if in the scenes of Comedy, parties are  
 engaged, and plots formed, for the furthering



or preventing the completion of that great article Cuckoldom, we expect to be satisfied in the point as far as the nature of so nice a case will permit, or at least to see such a manifest *disposition* as will leave us in no doubt of the event. By the bye, I cannot but think that the Comic writers of the last age treated this matter as of more importance, and made more bustle about it, than the temper of the present times will well bear; and it is therefore to be hoped that the Dramatic authors of the present day, some of whom, to the best of my judgment, are deserving of great praise, will consider and treat this business, rather as a common and natural incident arising out of modern manners, than as worthy to be held forth as the great object and sole end of the Play.

But whatever be the question, or whatever the character, the curtain must not only be dropped  
before

before the eyes, but over the minds of the spectators, and nothing left for further examination and curiosity.—But how was this to be done in regard to *Falstaff*? He was not involved in the fortune of the Play; he was engaged in no action which, as to him, was to be compleated; he had reference to no system, he was attracted to no center; he passes thro' the Play as a lawless meteor, and we wish to know what course he is afterwards likely to take: He is detected and disgraced, it is true; but he lives by detection, and thrives on disgrace; and we are desirous to see him detected and disgraced again. The *Fleet* might be no bad scene of further amusement;—he carries *all* within him, *and what matter* where, *if he be still the same*, possessing the same force of mind, the same wit, and the same incongruity. This, *Shakespeare* was fully sensible of, and knew that this character could not be compleatly dismissed but by death.—“Our author, (says the Epilogue to the Second

“ Part

"Part of Henry IV.) will continue the story  
 "with Sir *John* in it, and make you merry  
 "with fair *Catherine of France* ; where, for any  
 "thing I know, *Falstaff* shall dye of a sweat,  
 "unless already he be killed with your hard  
 "opinions." If it had been prudent in  
*Shakespeare* to have killed *Falstaff* with *hard opi-*  
*nion*, he had the means in his hand to effect  
 it ;—but dye, it seems, he must, in one form  
 or another, and a *sweat* would have been no un-  
 suitable catastrophe. However we have reason  
 to be satisfied as it is ;—his death was worthy  
 of his birth and of his life : "*He was born,*  
 he says, "*about three o'clock in the afternoon with*  
*a white head, and something a round belly.*"  
 But if he came into the world in the even-  
 ing with these marks of age, he departs  
 out of it in the morning in all the follies  
 and vanities of youth ;—"He was shaken (we  
 "are told) "*of a burning quotidian tertian ;—*  
 "*the young King had run bad humours on the*  
 "*knight ;—his heart was fractured and corroborate ;*  
 "and

*and a' parted just between twelve and one, even at the turning of the tide, yielding the crow a pudding, and passing directly into Arthur's bosom, if ever man went into the bosom of Arthur."*—

o ended this singular buffoon ; and with him ends an Essay, on which the reader is left to bestow what character he pleases : An Essay professing to treat of the Courage of *Falstaff*, but extending itself to his Whole character ; to the arts and genius of his Poetic-Maker, SHAKESPEARE ; and thro' him sometimes, with ambitious aim, even to the principles of human nature itself.

T H E E N D.

- Page, line.  
 49, 8, (in the notes) for *Henry VI.* read *Henry IV.*  
 50, 3, (in the notes) correct the same error.  
 60, the last but two in the notes, for *he this* when thou art  
 dead—read—*be thus*, &c.  
 65, 13, for the plains of *Sciota*—read—the plains of *Sciota*.  
 78, 9, for *as far*—read - *so far*.  
 84, 14, for *minching malicho*—read—*minching malicho*.  
 105, 6 and 7, for *goes off the sickly effort*—read—*goes off in the*  
*sickly effort*.  
 108, the last but one, for *bare*—read—*base*.  
 109, 18, for *circumstances*—read—*circumstances*.

In a few of the copies

- 172, 4, for *the jovial delightful companion*—read—*In this the*  
*jovial*, &c.

